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EIGHT PAGES
FROM SUNDAY'S

The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

Petrol bomb victim buried; unrest continues; settlers demand tough steps

Seven arrested as troops clamp down

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT and JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporters

ALFEI MENASHE. — The security forces are to step up their overt and covert activities throughout the territories in an attempt to prevent increased Palestinian attacks expected at least until the beginning of May, security sources said yesterday.

Meanwhile the heightened activity in the Kalkilya area has led to the arrest of seven people suspected of having some connection with Saturday night's petrol-bomb attack near Alfei Menashe in which Ofra Moses was burned to death and her husband, children and their friend were seriously wounded. None of the seven is believed to have thrown the bomb, an authoritative source told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Settler leaders yesterday demanded tough new measures to curb terror attacks in the territories, as a fresh wave of unrest swept the territories, following Saturday night's attack.

Settlers also charged that Foreign Minister Peres's peace policies had shown weakness which encouraged anti-Israeli attacks.

Ofra Moses was buried in an emotional ceremony yesterday in Petah Tikva's Segula cemetery. Alfei Menashe local council head Shlomo Kattan said at the funeral that the settlement would demand a state commission of inquiry into alleged security lapses which led to Moses's death.

Transport Minister Haim Corfu, who represented the government, said Moses had died "to ensure the security of Jerusalem." Clearly a Judea and Samaria populated by many Jews would prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, he said.

Six-year-old Tal Moses, suffering from severe burns, was described as in critical condition last night at Kfar Sava's Meir Hospital. His brother Nir, 13, and family friend Yossi Halleli, 14, were said to have improved, although both were suffering from severe burns on their faces and hands.

Avraham Moses, 36, the father of the family, was hospitalized in Tel Hashomer, where his condition was described as



Mourners comfort the victim's mother-in-law at the funeral of Ofra Moses in Petah Tikva yesterday.

(Andre Brummann)

serious, but stable. Moses was said to be fully conscious and aware of what had happened. He remembers the full details of Saturday's firebombing.

Moses is a TWA air steward; his wife Ofra, who was killed in the attack, worked at the Rosh Ha'ayin community centre.

Members of the Council of Settlements of Judea, Samaria and Gaza met late into the night at Alfei Menashe to discuss a series of demands from the government, including the wholesale deporting of Palestinians released in the 1985 prison-

er exchange with Ahmed Jibril's terror organization; imposing the death penalty for terrorist attackers, and stepping up settlement activity. Some participants proposed vigilante action.

Much of the settlers' criticism was directed at Peres's recent calls for peace talks in an international conference, and his reported criticism of settlements as "unnecessary."

"Someone took that seriously," said Kattan. "Peres has declared open season on us."

Rabbi Moshe Levinger, of Hebron, said Defence Minister Rabin's inability to prevent anti-Jewish attacks meant that "he himself is partner to the murder."

Council secretary Osnel Shneller called for "a firm security policy, including the deportation of every attacker, possibly including his family, and the use of the death penalty in some cases."

Rabin yesterday sought to allay settlers' concerns. "We've beefed up our forces in the territories, and we shall take all legal means to enforce law and order, prevent terror, and continue an unremitting war against the various terror elements," Rabin said.

However he warned that he rejected vigilante action by settlers. "I can understand their agitation after such a barbaric incident, but I absolutely refuse to accept anyone taking the law into his own hands."

The feeling among some military analysts was that the attack was perpetrated by a local group which may have ties with one of the Palestinian organizations abroad.

One source noted yesterday that there had only been two fatal petrol-bomb attacks in the last 10 years, and both had been in the Kalkilya area. In 99 per cent of the cases such attacks fail, he said.

The belief that Arab attacks will increase stems from checking the calendar rather than from Saturday night's attack, suggested a knowledgeable source.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Rabin pledges campaign against terror in areas

Jerusalem Post Staff

Defence Minister Rabin said yesterday that the security authorities would intensify their campaign against Arab terror in Judea and Samaria, in the wake of Saturday evening's firebomb attack near Kalkilya.

Despite the differences of opinion about the territories within the national unity government, all are united on the need to guarantee security to all their residents, Rabin said at the weekly cabinet session.

Objectively, the defence minister said, the security situation in Judea and Samaria was not simple, just as it was difficult in southern Lebanon. "We never have a commitment that all terror acts could be prevented," Rabin said.

He said it was important to distinguish between those who incited to terror and organized the outrages, and the remainder of the population. It was also important, he stressed, not to assign guilt to Jews for acts of terror committed by Arabs.

This last caution was addressed, inside the cabinet, to Minister-without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira, and outside the cabinet to elements within the Likud and the settlement movement who have charged that Foreign Minister Peres's promotion of an international conference had sparked the latest firebomb outrage and other terror acts.

When the cabinet session opened, Shapira charged that what Peres was doing was to organize an interna-

(Continued on Back Page)

Peres, Shamir back from the brink

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier Peres stepped back from the brink yesterday and prevented their colleagues from squabbling about the pros and cons of an international conference, an issue over which Shamir launched a vitriolic assault on Peres only last week.

After Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin reported to the cabinet yesterday on the firebomb attack which led to the death of an Alfei Menashe settler woman, and Peres reported on his talks in Madrid and Rome, Shamir reined in his colleagues and said he objected to the tragedy which had befallen the Moses family being made into the motive for "an internal political confrontation."

"Israel's security and political interests alike will suffer," Shamir said, "if the enemies who seek to kill us also sow division among us."

Shamir's remark came after Labour and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav had charged that Peres was violating the coalition agreement by his campaign for the international conference. "Peres has no right to take initiatives without a government discussion and decision," Katsav said. "Because of Peres, Israel seems more anxious for a conference than the Arabs."

Shamir said: "We are hearing Peres's report. We are not having a debate on his report."

Peres was very careful not to dramatize during his report on his meetings with the two Soviet representatives in Rome, according to cabinet sources.

The Soviet delegates assured him that their government did not seek to impose a solution on the parties to the Middle East dispute. Peres quoted them as suggesting that the

parties who met in bilateral negotiations would determine between them what role should be assigned parties attending the multilateral talks.

Peres said the Soviet Union wants a dialogue with Israel.

When the Alignment ministers' caucus *Sarenu* met at 7.30 yesterday morning before the cabinet meeting, the agenda was limited to a discussion on how to react to Shamir's earlier onslaught on Peres.

The Alignment ministers agreed that they would convene at some future date to ponder whether early elections were appropriate, and if so, which elements of timing and themes were to be considered.

Only two ministers, Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur and Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman urged that the Alignment im-

(Continued on Back Page)

Beilin briefing Shultz aides on eve of Moscow meetings

Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies

Foreign Ministry political director-general Yossi Beilin flew to Helsinki yesterday to meet with aides of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, on the eve of Shultz's visit to Moscow.

Sources in Jerusalem said the purpose of Beilin's trip was to brief Shultz on Peres's talks last week in Rome with two Soviet officials, when Soviet Jewry and Moscow's participation in Middle East peace talks were discussed. The sources said Beilin might meet with Shultz himself.

Refusenik Vladimir Slepak, who plans to meet Shultz in Moscow, said yesterday that he had been unable to leave his home after spending Saturday under house arrest.

Slepak said he intended to go to a seder at the American ambassador's residence, which Shultz is also to attend to demonstrate U.S. support for Soviet Jewry. Refusenik Josef Begun and his wife, Dr. Alexander Lerner and other prominent refuseniks will also be present.

Begun spoke last night by telephone to Prime Minister Shamir, who sent the activist holiday greetings and assured him that Israel was working for his immigration to Israel.

In Kiev, Inna Elbert, a refusenik since 1976, enters the 40th day of her hunger strike today, her 36th birthday, pressing demands for exit visas to join her mother and brother in Israel. Striking with Elbert are her husband Zev, 38, and as of five days ago, her son Karmi, 16.

Soldiers buried

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Samal Ronen Ayalon and Rav Turai Ilan Haziza, the two soldiers killed in an ambush near Kantara, in South Lebanon on Friday night, were buried yesterday.

Ayalon, 20, of Kiryat Motzkin, a tank commander, was buried in the Hof Hacarmel Cemetery in Haifa.

Some 1,000 people, including Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy, attended Haziza's funeral. Haziza, 19, of Ra'anana, was buried in his town's Old Cemetery.

Military sources yesterday described Friday's attack as "isolated" and said that it would not lead to any changes in the tactics of IDF units patrolling South Lebanon.

The Kantara area, some eight

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)

U.S. Jews make peace

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. — After years of theological warfare over religious doctrine, the three main branches of American Judaism have issued an unexpected pre-Pessah statement of unity. Agudat Israel of America and rabbinical bodies representing ultra-

The statement was signed by Rabbi Jack Stern, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform), Rabbi Kassel Abelson, president of the Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative), and Rabbi Milton Polin, president of the Rabbinical Council of America (modern Orthodox).

Pessah, page 4

Orthodox and Haddisic Jews refused to sign the statement.

The heads of the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox rabbinical organizations in the U.S. and Canada sent the statement to congregational rabbis of all three branches on Friday with a request that they read the statement at sabbath services.

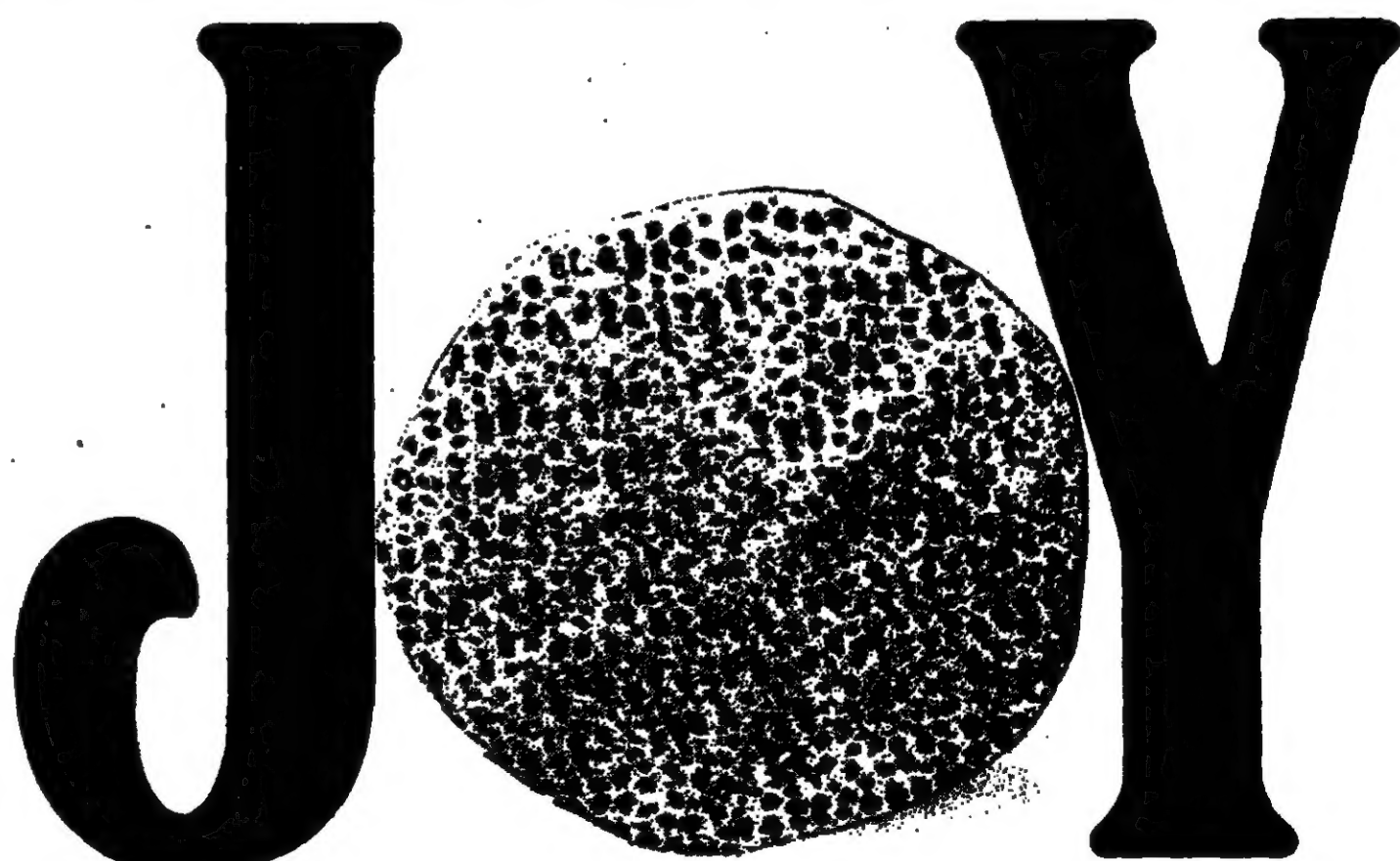
According to the joint statement, "There is a Covenant of Fate in our history and destiny. We have a common past, shared experiences. We have suffered at the hands of tyrants from Pharaoh to Hitler, who made no distinction between Jews whether they were Orthodox, Conservative or Reform."

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Libyan corpses, undamaged tanks litter Chad battlefield

The North Africa correspondent for Associated Press, Michael Goldsmith, was among a group of reporters taken by the Chad authorities on a 400-mile journey through the northern desert, where they were shown evidence of Libya's military defeat.

OUADI DOUM, Chad. — The desert on all sides of what was Libya's main military base in Chad is littered with the debris of war and the bodies of Libyan soldiers turned black by the sun.

Ouadi Doum, which had a two-mile aluminum plate runway ringed by sophisticated Soviet designed weaponry and equipment, was overrun by Chadian forces on March 23. More than 1,000 men of the 4,000-strong Libyan garrison were killed or captured.

The rest fled in panic, abandoning some 20 jet bombers and nearly 200 tanks and tracked armored personnel carriers, most of them intact and in working order.

French officers estimated that the weaponry left behind intact was worth more than one billion dollars. They said they were astounded by what seemed to have been ineptitude, slovenliness and lack of discipline of the Libyan troops.

Not a blade of grass or even a thornbush grows for hundreds of miles amid the sand and reddish rock in this total desert. The Libyans, who for four years virtually annexed the northern half of Chad, picked this spot for their biggest airbase because it was within striking distance of N'Djamena, the capital, 600 miles to the southwest, and because they believed that trackless desert protected them.

In the event, it only facilitated the Chadians' lightning triumph.

At a news conference, the local Chadian commander, Maj. Assabah Ozi, said his men captured the base because they were better soldiers. He



Eight-year-old Chadian soldier Ali enjoys a cigarette break in Kalait, northern Chad, last week. He is wearing a Libyan tank driver's helmet.

He refused to tell what tactics his ill-equipped troops had used to overrun the modern tanks, artillery

and rocket launchers of the Libyans.

French observers told the correspondents that the Chadians had developed a technique of sneaking up on the tanks under cover of darkness and overwhelming their crews in hand-to-hand fighting.

Whatever the tactics, their success is visible for 100 miles of desert to the southeast, where the Libyans tried to hold a defensive line.

The Libyan prisoners in the area seem well-fed and appear to be well-treated. But so far the International Red Cross has not been allowed to visit them as provided by the Geneva Conventions. The prisoners can be seen clearing minefields and doing manual work.

Several aircraft lie as blackened wreckage beside the runway. But seven Czechoslovak-built Albatross L-39 fighter-bombers are lined up undamaged.

Many of the Libyan troops apparently whiled away the hours by designing the tablets of citations from the Koran or from Muammar Gaddafi's "Green Book" in pebbles pasted on to wooden boards.

Minefields marked by barbed wire surround the base. Chadian soldiers said they streaked across them in their pickup trucks at such speed that the mines exploded harmlessly behind them. They said the Libyans had buried the mines deeply so that stray animals would not trigger them.

Earth-covered shelters on the base are crammed with ammunition, unopened cases of heavy machineguns and missiles. In one huge shelter the Chadians found 12 T-62 tanks which had never been used. Most of the other tanks were the smaller and more mobile T-55s.

Surrounding the base were several batteries of Sam-6 missiles. The French sources said they were a new version of the Sam-6, never before seen in the West.

Two Beirut car bombs injure 13

BEIRUT (AP). — Thirteen people were injured when two car bombs exploded yesterday afternoon in the heavily populated Christian district of Dora, just north of Beirut, police said.

A Mercedes loaded with 15 kilos of TNT exploded at about 12.30 p.m. near St. Joseph's Hospital in Dora, a Lebanese Army explosives expert said.

A few minutes later, a Volkswagen Golf parked 15 metres away and carrying 25 kilos of TNT also exploded, he said.

The Voice of Free Lebanon, a Christian militia radio station, accused Syria of being behind the blasts.

One civilian was killed and eight wounded in overnight gun battles and mortar duels between Christian and Muslim militiamen across Beirut's dividing green line.

The fighting pitted Shi'ite militiamen in Beirut's southern suburbs against Lebanese Forces militiamen in the capital's Christian sector for a third straight day of sporadic hostilities.

Seven hurt in French nuclear leak

PIERRELATTE, France (AP). — Seven workers were slightly injured yesterday when a leak of corrosive and slightly radioactive gas shut down production at a nuclear fuel plant in southeastern France, officials said.

A small quantity of uranium hexafluoride at the Pierrelatte-Tricastin plant on the Rhone River escaped into the atmosphere, officials of plant owners, Comurhex, said. The French Ministry of the Environment said there was no danger and the gas dispersed very quickly.

Zimbabwe MiG purchase threat to Pretoria superiority

LONDON (Reuters). — The Sunday Telegraph said that Zimbabwe had secretly bought MiG-29 intercepter planes from the Soviet Union, posing a "direct threat" to South Africa. The newspaper quoted intelligence sources in Washington as saying a Zimbabwean delegation visited Moscow last month to arrange the purchase of 12 of the most advanced warplanes in the Soviet air force.

It said Zimbabwe was reported to have spent £200 million and committed cash crops in barter deals to secure the purchase.

The Zimbabwean delegation included Air Vice-Marshal Josiah Tumbumirai, Air Force Commander Emmanuel Munangagwa and Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero, the Sunday Telegraph reported.

It said the deal called for the

delivery of the MiGs starting in the middle of next year and an intense training course for Zimbabwean pilots in the Soviet Union.

The paper quoted an unnamed U.S. diplomat as saying Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had taken a great military and economic risk by committing his foreign exchange to buy planes which Zimbabwean pilots may not be able to fly.

It added that the purchase would change the strategic balance in southern Africa and pose a threat to Pretoria, which now has the strongest air force in the region. But its ageing French-built Mirage 3s would be no match for the MiG-29s, the Telegraph added, and said Washington feared the white-led government might launch pre-emptive strikes at Zimbabwean air bases.

Four-hour spacewalk helps link module to space station

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet space programme to create the first permanently manned space station was back on course yesterday after the research module Kvant docked with the space station Mir following a nearly four-hour space walk by two cosmonauts.

The official news agency Tass said cosmonauts Alexander Laveikin and Yuri Romanenko had discovered that an alien object had prevented Kvant from sealing hermetically with Mir.

Romanenko, 42, and Laveikin, 35, carried out work outside the giant orbiting station to allow the tightening of the seal and supervised the complete linking of the two craft by ground control.

The successful docking averted what would have been a setback in the Soviet Union's plans to turn Mir, a huge space laboratory with six

docking ports, into the first permanently manned space station, capable of holding up to 100 cosmonauts at any one time.

Kvant had failed to hook up completely with Mir in a second docking attempt last Thursday. A first attempt was aborted the previous Sunday when Kvant's directional systems failed.

Romanenko and Laveikin stepped outside Mir last night and remained outside the craft for three hours and 40 minutes, Tass said. A recording of the operation was shown on Soviet television news yesterday morning.

Moscow Radio said Romanenko had performed a similar operation nearly 10 years ago when he stepped outside a Salyut space station to control its docking unit.

Kvant, described as a fundamentally new type of space vehicle, was launched on March 31 to carry 1.5 tons of "unique" scientific equipment for use in experiments by Romanenko and Laveikin.

London fears sales of Irish passports aided terrorists

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — Foreign Office officials yesterday began investigating allegations that a passport officer at the Irish Embassy in London has been selling passports in a racket that may have aided terrorists.

Kevin McDonald — who was yesterday suspended from his post — is said to have charged up to £15,000 per passport, and to have sold them to anyone, from foreigners seeking residence in Britain to Arab extremists. Officials are most disturbed, however, by allegations that he sold passports to Libyans, Iranians and Lebanese nationals with possible links to terrorist groups.

Officials are extremely concerned that, as a result of MacDonald's alleged five-year racket, terrorists may be able to slip easily into Britain and other European countries.

MacDonald made no checks into the backgrounds of applicants, according to a report on his operation in yesterday's Sunday People, but provided them with genuine passports and birth certificates in the names of dead people.

MacDonald is alleged to have helped hundreds of Arabs remain in Britain, particularly Tunisians and Moroccans.

IRA admits killing 2 police reservists

BELFAST (APF). — The outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) yesterday claimed responsibility for Saturday's assassination of two police reservists on foot patrol at a beach resort in northern Ireland.

The two members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary were gunned down in the town of Portrush, County Antrim, in the north of the British-ruled province.

The killings brought to 10 the number of police deaths in Northern Ireland since the beginning of the year.



FOREIGN BRIEFS

Soviets trade missiles for listening posts in Iran

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — Iran has received over 200 Soviet Scud-B long-range surface-to-surface missiles in return for allowing the Soviet Union to establish electronic surveillance stations in northern Iran. It was reported here yesterday.

The Scuds, which have high-explosive warheads, were on display in a military parade last week, and have fuelled talk of a fresh Iranian offensive against Iraq in the very near future.

The surveillance stations will allow the Soviets to eavesdrop on telecommunications throughout the Arabian peninsula, the Persian Gulf area, and inside Pakistan.

Iraqi planes cripple Cypriot tanker in Gulf

MANAMA, Bahrain (AP). — Iraqi warplanes yesterday attacked and crippled the Cypriot-flag oil tanker Lady Sky while on its maiden voyage for the shuttle service which ferries crude oil from Iran's vital Kharg Island oil terminal, gulf-based sources said.

No injuries were reported to the 28-man Korean crew. The 140,000-ton vessel, which is owned by the Maltese company Kappa Maritime, joined the shuttle only three weeks ago, the sources said.

The attack took place about 90km. south of Kharg, far south of the 100km. military exclusion zone that Iraq has declared around Kharg. No Iraqi confirmation of the attack was available.

Pro-West Fiji leader loses to leftist doctor

SUVA, Fiji (AP). — The pro-Western leader of this South Pacific nation has been defeated by a doctor with no experience in government, election officials announced yesterday.

Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's 16-year rule ended when a left-leaning coalition headed by Dr. Timoci Bavadra won a four-seat majority in the 52-seat parliament.

Mara, who led this country to independence from Britain in 1970, formally conceded defeat soon after election returns showed that the opposition won 28 seats.

Smuggling of Hess's clothing suspected

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — A Nazi uniform and other clothing worn by Rudolf Hess is believed to have been smuggled out of his cell in West Berlin's Spandau Prison, possibly for sale to neo-Nazi groups.

According to reports here, the flying helmet, goggles and boots worn by Hess, now 93, on his mysterious 1941 solo flight from Germany to Scotland were stolen from the prison earlier this year. His official Nazi uniform may also have been smuggled out of the jail, and there is even concern that Hess, who has been held at Spandau since 1946, has been writing and smuggling out a "Spandau Diary."

Opposition gains in Japan ballot

TOKYO (AP). — Early returns yesterday showed opposition parties scoring wins in the first nationwide elections since Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's ruling party won a landslide victory last summer.

The Japan Socialist and Communist parties were leading opposition groups making comebacks in contests for 2,670 seats in 44 prefectural assemblies and 13 governorships, according to returns reported by the Japan Broadcasting Corp. (NHK), which has proved accurate in the past.

NHK reported that as of midnight yesterday, with 66 per cent of the votes tallied, unofficial returns showed that Nakasone's Liberal Democratic Party had won 583 seats in prefectural assemblies nationwide, a loss of 53 seats.

The Socialists had 173 seats, a gain of 26; Komeito (Clean Government Party) had 51 seats, up 4; the Democratic Socialist Party won 22 seats, down 5; the Japan Communist Party had 45 seats, up 22; and the Social Democratic Federation had won four seats, down one.

GORBACHEV. — Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who just ended an official visit to Czechoslovakia, will visit Romania next month, the state-run Yugoslav Tanjug news agency reported in Belgrade yesterday, quoting well-informed diplomatic sources in Bucharest.

Erskine Caldwell dies at 83

PARADISE VALLEY, Arizona (AP). — Erskine Caldwell, whose earthy depictions of the rural poor in the southern U.S. outraged fellow Southerners but placed him in the pantheon of the region's leading writers, died on Saturday of lung cancer. He was 83.

Caldwell was best known for his novel *Tobacco Road*, published in 1932, and *God's Little Acre*, published the following year.

Caldwell, a minister's son who worked as a seaman, cotton-picker and professional football player before settling down to write, was a prolific author, producing some 50 books and 150 short stories.

Both *Tobacco Road* and *God's Little Acre* portrayed impoverished, cruel, ignorant sharecropper families struggling to survive in Georgia. The characters were amoral and



Erskine Caldwell (UPI)

highly sexed, and the language was considered by many to be profane and blasphemous.

One Georgia congressman, calling the play based on *Tobacco Road* an "infamous, wicked and untruthful" portrayal of his district, tried unsuccessfully to have the house halt a production at the National Theatre. The books were barred from some library shelves.

But Caldwell's work proved highly popular in other quarters: *Tobacco Road* sold more than 3.5 million copies; the stage adaptation, which emphasized the comedy in the story, ran for 7½ years on Broadway; and *God's Little Acre* sold more than 8 million copies. Together, the works were translated into 40 languages.

His other major works include *The Bastard*, *Poor Fool*, *Georgia Boy*, *All Night Long*.



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After the firebomb attack: a tale of two towns

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ALFEI MENASHE. — At the intersection where Ofra Moses was killed on Saturday night, army bulldozers yesterday cleared swaths on both sides of the highway leading to this hilltop settlement.

The machines knocked down rows of orange trees in roadside orchards, leaving behind a trail of twisted roots and upturned earth. The trees belonged to the Arab residents of neighbouring Kalkilya and Habla. An officer said the action would make it harder for petrol-bombers to take cover for attacks like the one which claimed Moses' life, and left her husband and children seriously burned.

At Alfei Menashe, two women, Yehudit Ben-Rafael and Orly Magal, walking near the empty home of the Moses family confessed to a new sense of insecurity, despite the army's actions.

"It's frightening," said Ben-Rafael. "Just yesterday we drove down that same road, and they were attacked so soon after dark. When you have children you're even more concerned that the same thing may happen during the day. There's always a sense of fear when you leave this place."

Magal said: "After what happened I don't want my parents to come from Jerusalem to visit us for Pessah, and I have no desire to go to visit them."

"People are saying that now everyone will make sure to get home early or stay at home," said Ben-Rafael. "But how long can that last? We have to live here: this is our home."

Though some residents of Alfei Menashe vandalized Arab orchards after Saturday night's killing, they took pains yesterday to distance themselves from the hard-line settlers of Gush Emunim.

"The term 'settlers' doesn't really fit us. People here come from all parts of the political spectrum, and this is not a homogeneous population," said Nili Priel, a member of the local council of the town, which has 500 families and was founded four years ago. The majority of the population are young couples, mostly non-observant, many of them with men in the army.



The intersection where the fatal attack took place on Saturday night. (Andre Bruttman)

"We didn't come here for ideological reasons, like Gush Emunim," explains Ben-Rafael. "We're from all over the country, we work in the Tel Aviv area. We came here for the mountains, the quiet, the homes and land, but the security question is a major dilemma."

At the local council offices, plastered with death notices bearing the name of Ofra Moses, the mood was angrier.

Council head Shlomo Kattan said he had warned the army repeatedly that trouble was brewing along the road to Alfei Menashe. Two roadside explosive charges were discovered along the road in recent weeks, but nothing was done until after Saturday's incident, he said.

Priel said the council had proposed a series of measures to Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy after Saturday's attack, including uprooting of orchards, fencing off the trees and topping them with rolls of barbed wire, to prevent youths climbing them.

Despite the demands for tough action, council members insist that they have had friendly relations with Kalkilya, and that people in both towns have visited each other for

family and holiday celebrations. The retaliatory riots in Kalkilya were not the work of Alfei Menashe settlers, they said. After years of restraint in the face of attacks, they vandalized a few trees and set twigs on fire to dramatize the need for firm action by the army.

"No one slept all night, and many people haven't gone to work today," said Ben-Rafael.

Neither did anyone sleep or go to work in Kalkilya, which yesterday lay silent under a curfew imposed after the petrol-bombing. Groups of children playing in side streets among shuttered shops and homes slipped away quickly when Israeli vehicles approached, leaving behind a silence and newspapers swirling in the wind.

Kalkilya was a ghost town, sealed off by army roadblocks; townspeople could only be seen peeping out of windows or on rooftops.

Eating lunch in his home, Mayor Abdel-Rahman Abu-Sneineh unreservedly condemned the petrol-bomb attack, which he said harmed relations and commerce between his town and neighbouring Jewish communities.

"Whoever did this was trying to sever the connections between us," he told visitors in Hebrew.

"This petrol bomb does nothing for us, except create problems and heat up the atmosphere. Kalkilya has always been a peaceful city. We live off Saturday shopping. If Jews stop coming here, who will we sell to? Thirty thousand Jews were here over the weekend, and who benefited? Only the residents of Kalkilya."

Abu-Sneineh, who maintains good relations with the Israeli authorities, was especially bitter about the riots in his town by Jewish settlers. "There were some 300 of them, shouting and throwing stones at cars and homes. They broke windows in about 20 houses and about 10 cars. We shut the doors and sat tight." Signs of the damage were evident in Abu-Sneineh's neighbourhood, where a windowless station wagon could be seen next to homes with holes punched through their window panes. Abu-Sneineh said serious damage was done to Habla, which was closed to reporters yesterday.

"The people who came were not from Alfei Menashe, but from Karnei Shomron and Ma'ale Shomron, with whom we also have good relations. The leader of the pack was someone from Ma'ale Shomron, a man who has visited me many times and often shopped here. You never know what someone harbours in his heart. Look what they have done to a friend of the Jews."

On the way out of Kalkilya, police cars momentarily blocked traffic, as a funeral cortege passed by, headed south: the people of Alfei Menashe, burying Ofra Moses.

Nature society holding special events during Pessah week

A place at the Seder table for all new immigrants

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

In kibbutzim and army camps, absorption centres and private homes, in hotels and camping tents, Israel's Jews will tonight celebrate the Seder and recount the story of the Exodus from Egypt.

According to Rabbi Yitzhak Rabin, head of the Jerusalem Rabbinical Council, hametz — leavened products which are not kosher for Passover — may not be eaten after 8.58 this morning. The remaining hametz should be burned by 10:18 a.m., he added.

Rabbis throughout the country will sell to non-Jews the hametz given them by private householders, with the proviso that it can be "redeemed" at the end of the holiday. The hametz belonging to the State will be sold by the chief rabbis.

Yesterday, as most of the country's observant Jews were busy cleaning their homes, activists of Eshel, the Organization for Spiritual Rehabilitation of Prisoners, were busy distributing food parcels to inmates of Ramle Prison who were going home on leave for the holiday.

Eshel also contributed new utensils and special hand-made shmurah matza to the inmates of Neve Tirza women's prison to give them a feeling of the holiday spirit.

Holiday makers who spend their seder evening on the Sinai beaches will be able to observe the ritual properly, since the Egyptian Foreign Ministry has made an exception to a recent ruling that no food may be

brought across the border into Egypt.

Thousands of new immigrants, including several from the Soviet Union, will take part tonight in Seder celebrations, organized by the Jewish Agency Aliya Department.

According to department chairman Haim Aharon, every immigrant living in the department's institutions has been ensured a place either at a communal seder, or with private families who have offered to host them.

Yesterday, Aharon and Jewish Agency Chairman Arye Dulzin visited the Beit Canada absorption centre at Armon Hanatziv in Jerusalem, where they met recent immigrants from the Soviet Union.

In preparation for the holiday, special teams of the department helped new immigrants kosher their cooking utensils and kitchens, also distributing shmurah matza and Hagadot with translations into various languages.

Since many families take vacations during the week-long holiday many government and municipal offices are closing for the entire week, rather than working with skeleton staffs.

The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI) is to hold its annual convention on Wednesday and Thursday. Taking as its theme the country's Mediterranean coastline, the event will include guided hikes, marches and even airborne tours of the coastline, culminating in three giant rallies on Thursday night.



A Western Wall maintenance worker removes notes from between the stones of the wall yesterday. The operation is supervised by the rabbinical authorities and the notes — mostly prayers from visitors to the wall — are collected every Pessah, and buried at a Jewish cemetery. (Y. Zuker/Media)

at Ben-Gurion Park in Ashdod, the Netanya amphitheatre, and the Nahal-Taninim Nature Reserve.

The Road Safety Authority and the Nature Reserves Authority have set up 10 information and freshening up stations to assist the anticipated hundreds of thousands of travellers.

The stations will hand out free local maps and moist paper towels, as well as supplying information about touring routes and on-duty garages.

The stations will be at the Banias Nature Reserve, the Golan, Zemar, Jericho junctions, the Ein Gedi Nature Reserve, the Arava

junction, the Mitzpe Ramon visitor centre, Yoivata, the Mitzpe Ramon-Arava junction and the northern entrance to Eilat.

The Magen David Adom has recruited extra staff for its first aid stations, particularly those in Jerusalem, lake Kinneret, Galilee and Eilat, where the largest number of visitors are expected.

Extra police patrols will be on the roads, and the police have asked the public to remain alert to the possibility of sabotage attempts.

Home owners are also asked to take special care to lock their homes before leaving for Pessah trips.

Bread in the Jewish Quarter, but soft-sell only

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

An Arab-owned bakery in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City will remain open during Pessah in line with the 1986 Matza Law. But its owners will not openly display the bread and are also to post signs requesting that their customers not eat bread in the streets of the Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem city manager Aharon Sarig said yesterday.

The arrangement was worked out between the bakery owners and city officials, who did not want to deprive the Arab business of one week's earnings, but were also under pressure from the residents of the Jewish Quarter.

The new law forbids the display of bread or bread products in areas where a majority of the residents are Jewish. Violators face fines of up to NIS 3,000.

"We want the bakers to keep on working, while respecting their Jewish neighbours' feelings," Sarig said. But some Jewish Quarter residents say that if the municipality had really wanted to respect their feel-

ings, it would have told the bakers not to sell bread from their shops during the Pessah holiday.

The city's compromise is "one big bluff," said Ya'acov Bar-Or, chairman of the quarter's neighbourhood council.

A real compromise, he said, would have required the bakery to sell its bread only through its wholesale outlets.

Two Arab-owned bakeries are located on Jewish Quarter Road, near

the quarter's main parking lot.

In Haifa, the city's chief rabbi asked Arab bakery owners not to sell pita to Jews.

"How am I supposed to distinguish between Arabs and Jews?" one prominent Arab bakery owner told Israel Radio yesterday. "Do Jews have some kind of sign on their forehead?"

"By law I am bound to sell to whoever wants to buy, and so I shall," he said.

עז ושלום ותיבות שלום

התנועה לזכויות, ציונות, ושלום

BEIT MIDRASH LESHALOM

SPRING COURSES:

In HEBREW (4 Tuesdays, beginning April 21):

DR. TSEVI MAZEH — "TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE: HALACHIC PERSPECTIVES"

Different approaches to the mitzvot of conquering and settling the Land of Israel and the question of exchanging land for peace. (7:15-8:30 p.m.)

MS. ELFI GOODMAN-THAU — "THE BOOK OF RUTH AND THE IDEA OF REDEMPTION"

Exploring the place of the individual in the process of redemption as one of the cornerstones of faith. (8:45-10:00 p.m.)

In ENGLISH (4 Thursdays, beginning April 23):

DR. STEVEN COPELAND — "RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION IN DEFENCE OF HUMANISM"

Inner Biblical, Rabbinic, Medieval, and Modern sources that uphold and celebrate human freedom and initiative, natural law and reason, universalism and peace as the most religious of values. (7:15-8:30 p.m.)

RABBI SHELDON LEWIS — "ECOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY"

Biblical, Midrashic, Liturgical, and Kabbalistic texts on the obligation of man/woman towards the intricate web of Creation. (8:45-10:00 p.m.)

Hebrew courses meet at Machon Heskiyahu, 15 Heskiyahu Hamelech Street, Old Katamon, Jerusalem. English courses meet at 5 Am Street, Rehavia, Jerusalem, top floor.

Registration by telephone or in person, half an hour before first session. Registration fee: NIS 10 per course.

For further information, contact Oz veShalom-Netivot Shalom, P.O.B. 4432, Jerusalem Tel. 02-690712.

Dollars and sense...

The Tel Aviv Hilton Executive Business Center and The Jerusalem Post business pages

Wednesday, April 15, 1987 The Jerusalem Post

FINANCIAL DATA: ISRAEL, EUROPE, U.S.

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The World Zionist Organization

The Jewish Agency for Israel

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Please note that all offices of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization throughout the country will operate with reduced staff during the Intermediate Days of Pessah (Tuesday, April 15 through Sunday, April 19), because of a coordinated staff vacation.

Each office will maintain a limited staff to handle emergencies. The offices will be closed to the regular reception of the public.

All other facilities of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization will operate as usual.

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Poland's guilt

A six-man delegation, headed by Shimeon Shurmej, member of the Polish parliament, has arrived in Israel to participate in the Fifth World Congress of Polish Jews, which will open in the Mann Auditorium on May 5. Hundreds of representatives from 15 countries will participate in the congress, whose theme is "1,000 Years of Polish Jewry." But Lolek Cooper argues that Polish behaviour during the Holocaust and lack of repentance afterwards, makes Polish-Jewish relations, at present, impossible.

AS WE AGAIN approach the anniversary of the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto, it is appropriate to reflect once more on the question of the Jewish presence in Poland and on our attitude to Jewish-Poland relations in general. For the Warsaw revolt is not only a symbol of Jewish heroism in the face of impossible odds; it is also an indictment of the Polish people for their indifference to the fate of their Jewish compatriots.

The accusations directed against the Polish nation for its behaviour during the Holocaust have, so far, not been convincingly refuted. On the contrary, Polish apologists are constantly devising ways of absolving the Polish nation of any responsibility, and are attempting to diminish the Jewish character of the Holocaust through its universalization. Divesting the Holocaust of its Jewish content saves the Polish conscience, making Poland appear a martyr nation that lost many citizens even though the overwhelming majority of those that perished were in fact Jews.

This idea has been taken up with alacrity by the Church and the government in Poland. As a result almost all evidence of Jewish martyrdom in the extermination camps has

been removed. Visitors to the camps are told about the martyrdom of millions of Poles with no mention of the fact that the vast majority of the victims were Jews. To add insult to injury the Polish authorities have allowed the Catholic Church to build monasteries on the grounds of former extermination camps, thereby not only obliterating the memory of the Jewish tragedy that took place on Polish soil, but attempting to give it a Christian face.

In order to further weaken the Jewish nature of the tragedy and give additional credence to the universalization of the Holocaust, the Church hit upon a monstrous idea. A nun, Edith Stein, a convert from Judaism, is to be canonized for giving her life for the Christian faith. The fact that the Germans sent Sister Edith into the gas chamber because she was Jewish appears to be irrelevant.

It is no coincidence that all this is happening in Poland. It is undeniable that the inherent anti-Semitism of the vast majority of Poles and their behaviour towards the Jews during the war, was a direct result of the influence of the Catholic Church in Poland.

It is, therefore, understandable that the Poles are only too willing to promote this trend and by so doing

to divest themselves of charges of complicity in the Jewish tragedy. It is probably for the same reason that not one Pole has made the attempt, so far, to scrutinize the part played by the Polish nation in the complete disappearance of the Jewish community in Poland.

HOW IS ONE to explain that there is practically no Jewish presence in Poland today even though it is estimated that of 3.5 million Jews some 80,000 survived the Holocaust in Poland and some 300,000 returned from the Soviet Union and other countries immediately after the war?

The answer is clear: the Polish population's hostility toward Jews was undiminished and created conditions that made it impossible for them to remain in Poland. The pogroms in Kielce and elsewhere in liberated Poland and the murder of many Jews who attempted to return to their homes forced the remnants of the once-thriving Jewish community to flee the country.

There is a fundamental difference between this latest exodus and those that have taken place throughout Jewish history. The expulsions of the past came as a result of a government or royal decree, but the Polish Jews were expelled by the actions of the

Polish nation as a whole. The Polish government attempted to give the Jews some protection at the time, but after the Kielce pogrom it abandoned the attempt and advised the Jews to leave — a unique event in Jewish history.

If a herem was imposed on Spain because of its expulsion of the Jews there is good reason for doing the same to Poland. The role of the Polish population during the Holocaust and the subsequent expulsion of the survivors imposes collective responsibility for what took place on the Polish nation.

Until the Polish conscience awakens and the Holocaust becomes a subject of public debate in Poland, no Jew should set foot on Polish soil.

It is sad indeed that people wanting to make a pilgrimage to the unmarked graves of the martyrs, may soon find only churches and monasteries. It is also sad for those among the survivors who owe their life to righteous Poles. Their memory should be cherished for they were not only exposed to extreme danger from the Germans, but even more to the risk of being denounced by the *shmalgovniks* and others from among their own people.

The writer is a journalist living in Australia.

The Warsaw Ghetto

Eating up the rabbi

Gary A. Tobin

DID YOU EVER wonder why anyone would choose to become a rabbi today? Even if deep religious commitment attracted someone to the pulpit, it might not be enough to help someone survive in contemporary congregational life. More and more, congregations are eating up their rabbis.

I have seen rabbis broken by the demands of their congregants. Modern rabbis are being asked to be so many things to so many people that, with rare exceptions, they cannot possibly succeed.

We expect the rabbi to be an entertainer, delivering fascinating sermons and speeches. We expect him or her to be a modern library, a nice piece of computer software that can be programmed to spit out relevant religious answers upon request. We expect a master of ceremonies, someone to offer religious meaning, humour (or appropriate pathos) at our important life cycle events of birth, marriage, bar/bat mitzva, and death. The rabbi should also spread joy and spiritual comfort at the hospital. He should be a magnet for potential members, the big sale item to attract dues-paying members to the synagogue or temple, a counsellor, someone to come to for marital advice or help with a child. A rabbi should be a leader, helping to give the synagogue direction and purpose, but not too fast and not too far away from the centrist majority.

A rabbi is supposed to turn on and inspire children, making them feel welcome at Hebrew school. As parents abdicate the religious training of their children to institutions, greater pressure is put on the rabbi to inculcate Judaism into the reluctant pre-adolescent for the 1-6 hours a week the children are in Hebrew school. While parents abandon ritual practice and synagogue attendance, the rabbi is supposed to be a modern role model.

But when things go wrong at a synagogue or temple, the rabbi is the first to be blamed. If membership isn't booming, if the children aren't learning enough, if the building is too old or in the wrong place, firing

the rabbi usually seems to be the best solution.

THERE ARE three ways out for the rabbi in the current system. The first is complete burnout. He must leave congregational life to become either an administrator in the Jewish communal field, a Jewish educator, or a Federation professional (where the story often repeats itself), or leave Jewish communal life completely.

The second is rampant mediocrity, usually in smaller congregations that cannot attract the flashier models. The rabbi becomes a non-entity; he stays, but has little to say and little to do.

The third is to become Mr. Slick, to quote a popular rock song: "I know all the rules and I know how to break 'em, and I always know the name of the game." The rabbi has been eaten up, not because he left the field, or stayed in it as a defeated player, but because the spiritual leadership and guidance he might have provided has been subverted to power politics, glad-handing, and obligatory interesting but banal speeches.

Congregational rabbis cannot be expected to survive in the political milieu of contemporary synagogue life without adopting some of the behaviours of the congregations they serve. They cannot be all things to all people without becoming defeated or manipulative themselves. Tragically, as the congregations eat up the rabbis, they are also destroying the spiritual soul of contemporary Judaism.

To be sure, many rabbis thrive in their capacity as master politicians in their little fiefdoms. Certainly some rabbis have a Moses complex, believing they are direct conduits to God. Some have egos larger than the State of Montana, and enjoy the opportunity to play so many roles in synagogue life. That is a tragic waste of energy, because contemporary synagogue life is so often empty of true spiritual excitement. It is very sad that the rabbi is the last person in the synagogue who would be able to provide that religious joy or excitement. He is too busy re-

cruting bingo volunteers or helping raise funds for the new chapel, or officiating at a wedding of two strangers in his congregation.

Strangely enough, some people blame the rabbi for succeeding within this corrupting system. By conforming to the political rules, some rabbis master the game. That is what good performers do, and why the rabbinate is increasingly populated by those who have the stomach for non-stop glamour shows.

OF COURSE, many rabbis have risen above the system by being spiritual leaders and teachers. They refuse to play the game, and refuse to enter the political fray. They are secure enough in their knowledge, their relationships, and their influence. They exert leadership and guidance through the moral authority that comes from being good leaders and role models.

Rabbis ought to be scholars. They ought to be teachers. They ought to be spiritual leaders. They ought to provide religious guidance and comfort. Contemporary America has enough cheerleaders, power brokers, politicians, and social workers. If we keep demanding these things from our rabbis, they will have little time, energy, or inclination to provide the religious substance that the Jewish community needs so desperately. We will have a great show, but one as hollow as a three-minute rock video. It will be full of images, but no one will remember what they heard or saw.

Synagogues are still supposed to be houses of worship, and the rabbi is supposed to be a spiritual leader. Even in the best environment, some will choose to play the power games. But a changed environment would certainly go a long way in attracting and keeping more and better rabbis, and fewer imitations of ward politicians and game show hosts.

Dr. Tobin is the Director of the Centre for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University.

The Jewish World page is edited by Aryeh Rubinstein.

Old lies reappear

Japan's anti-Semitic Epidemic: The Israel Embassy in Tokyo has delivered a verbal protest to the Japanese Foreign Ministry over the epidemic of anti-Semitism.

Prof. Herbert Passin, a noted scholar of Japanese education who has chronicled the recent explosion in anti-Semitic literature, says that over 100 books dealing specifically with Jews are circulating in Japan. While some are "very friendly," Passin is concerned at the convergence of "remarkably detailed paranoia" in overtly anti-Semitic works and their explosive popularity.

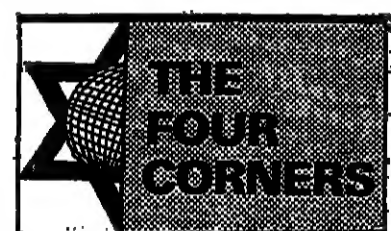
A paperback entitled *If You Understand the Jews You Can Understand the World*, is a runaway bestseller in Japan at nearly a million copies sold.

The reaction of many members of Japan's 1,000-strong Jewish community is bewilderment. "Japan never succumbed to Nazi pressure to enforce the 'final solution' on Jews living in China, and even helped Jews escape persecution," says business consultant Stewart Scheuer. Passin believes that anti-Semitism's surging popularity in Japan is "a proxy for xenophobia and anti-Americanism."

In Washington, officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith have expressed concern to Japanese ambassador Nobuo Matsunaga about the rise of anti-Semitic literature in Japan.

Unpublished part of Deschenes report: Evidence of Canadian participation in efforts to provide safe haven for certain Nazis right after World War II is contained in an unpublished section of the Deschenes Commission's report on Nazi war criminals in Canada, recently presented to the House of Commons.

According to MP Robert Kaplan, a former solicitor general, "it's essential that it be brought out so



that Canadians will know the whole story of war crimes."

Kaplan was referring to a study done for the Deschenes Commission by researcher Atil Rodol which could be embarrassing for Ottawa on several counts. It outlines Canada's willing participation in a British-U.S. plan to settle German scientists, many of them active Nazis, in Canada, the U.S., and Britain to keep them out of Soviet hands.

Rodol is said to have found evidence, though not conclusive, that British and American intelligence may have spirited known Nazi collaborators out of Eastern Europe into Canada, without the government's knowledge, in order to establish anti-Soviet spy networks.

One part of Rodol's study deals with Count Jacques de Bernoville, a French collaborationist who was the "right hand man" of war criminal Klaus Barbie, "the butcher of Lyon." The Count, who reached Quebec after the war, was enabled by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent to leave the country before he could be extradited to France.

Agricultural project in Ethiopia: United Support of Artists for Africa has granted the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) \$150,000 for an agricultural recovery project in the Gondar region of Ethiopia, according to JDC president Heinz Eppler. USA for Africa was founded in 1985 in response to the reports of widespread famine in Ethiopia.

The JDC will use the funds to buy oxen, seeds, and tools that will help farmers regain self-sufficiency. "After so many years of famine," Eppler said, "thousands of rural families have completely lost their ability to continue farming. They have to start over from scratch, but they have nothing to start with."

Dearth of opinion

KIVUNIM (Directions) is a quarterly published by the Information Department of the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. But the current issue (no. 34, Winter 5747), at any rate, fails to provide us with any new directions. Neither does it offer, as promised by its editors, any significant exchanges of opinion.

The journal, edited by Yoram Bak, Amnon Hadri, and Morris Zilka, does offer us a collection of excellent research articles. But not one of them touches on Zionist problems today. None peruses our immigration failure, our emigration problem, the crisis in settlement movements, the fossilization of the Zionist establishment, the faulty methods of distribution and use of Zionist funds and allocations.

Not that I didn't enjoy reading *Kivunim*. There is an excellent study on the socialist sources of Nazi genocide, by M. Ben-Yosef (Hagar), an illuminating description of the British-Zionist conflict in Eretz Yisrael by Ben-Zion Yehoshua, and a

glimpse of Ben-Gurion's correspondence with contemporary intellectuals by Michael Shashar. There are also several interesting book reviews.

Even so, they make *Kivunim* a fossil, an epitaph on the Zionist tombstone. The Zionist challenges of today are all but forgotten.

Is the history of Jewish immigration from Afghanistan (1882/1952) just what a WZO publication must tell us about? Why not leave that to the learned journals?

Was *Kivunim* meant to divert our attention from the present or just a misguided attempt to dwell on the past instead of searching for guidance in planning our future?

Any journal will find a large number of contributors who are only too willing to submit their studies for publication. But the safe academic studies cannot replace the challenges and ideas that can shake the establishment out of its complacency.

ALEXANDER ZVIELLI

March-Margot

BUSINESS PLEASURE

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Countering the fall-out

Mark Segal questions Abraham Foxman, the Anti-Defamation League's associate national director, over the Pollard affair, and the ADL's harsh criticism of the Israel government.



REPORTS FROM Washington indicating that the FBI has pressured Jonathan Pollard, in his isolated prison cell, to incriminate American Jewish leaders as part of a supposed "Israel espionage conspiracy," are firmly discounted by Abraham Foxman, associate national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Our interview took place during his current visit to Jerusalem for Pessah.

Asked whether the American Jewish community was worried by such stories, which imply an officially-inspired witch-hunt, Foxman unequivocally replied: "No, we are not. The loyalty of U.S. Jewry has been unquestionably demonstrated time and time again. Such reports are ridiculous and absurd. For my part I can say that the ADL's relations prior to, and since the Pollard affair, with the administration and Federal agencies, such as the Departments of State and Justice and the FBI, are at the highest level of access and trust." He added: "I need only refer to last week's statement of Attorney-General Edward Meese, wherein he indicated that as far as his department was concerned the Pollard case was closed."

The ADL, now marking its 75th anniversary, is widely regarded as the most effective of the numerous American Jewish organizations. Its office in Jerusalem, directed by Harry Wall, which was opened 10 years ago, affords the organization a clear perception of the ins-and-outs of policy-making in Jerusalem.

While the ADL's main purpose is to combat anti-Jewish discrimination throughout the United States, a goodly part of its \$27 million annual budget is devoted to promoting and protecting America's special relationship with the Jewish state. The ADL's network of connections throughout the country from city through state to federal level gives it the necessary clout in Washington.

That is why there was some surprise at its sharply-critical statement of the Israeli government's handling of the Pollard affair, issued some weeks ago ("...Israel has to stop adopting an Alice-in-Wonderland...") during a flying visit to Jerusalem by Foxman and ADL national chairman Burton Levinson. They came a week ahead of the delegation of the Presidents' Conference of Major American Jewish Organizations.

When I asked Foxman why they went public in such an unprecedented fashion, the ADL executive explained: "It was issued before the inquiry commissions were formed. What we feared was at stake was the nature of U.S.-Israel relations. For 39 years Israel and American Jewry have labored to achieve the level of closeness between the two countries, termed by President Reagan and Premier Shamir, during the latter's recent visit to Washington, as that of 'an ally, short of NATO membership.' Foxman says that apart from considerations of cold national self-interest, America's affinity for Israel has been founded on such elements as mutual trust, friendship, understanding and credibility."

"Thus," he explains, "We believed that Israel's seemingly cavalier attitude was putting that trust and credibility under a cloud. It might remove the special element from that relationship, leaving it on the level pertaining between - say - the U.S. and Turkey, which is good, proper and supportive, but lacking warmth and the intrinsic element of identification."

Pointing out how much Israel has suffered in the world arena from double standards, he reports that in this particular instance, the United States expected Israel to apply the same standards it demands of itself. "Thus, as in the case of Iran: to get at the truth, to insist on accountability from the top down, and to bring to account those responsible for the wrongdoing," he explains.

Foxman spoke in terms of Israel having pre-empted more negative reaction on Capitol Hill by the appointment of the two inquiry committees into the Pollard case, plus Aviem Sella's resignation, as well as - to include another controversial element - the government's new policy on arms supplies to South Africa.

WHEN I wondered whether the proposal to send a Knesset delegation to Washington in order to curb any more damage to bilateral relations was still relevant, Foxman said: "Once the commissions of inquiry complete their work and the government's reaction is seen to be credible, then such a mission could be most helpful in explaining Israel's position among policy- and opinion-makers."

Questioned on details of the "fall-out" from the Pollard affair, the ADL No. 2 man regretfully reports that "it gave license to all Israel's enemies and critics to speak in a louder and seemingly more credible voice." As to the impact on public opinion via the media, Foxman mentioned the ADL's survey of editorial opinion among the 50 largest-circulation newspapers in the U.S. He prefaced his report by noting that in their comments on Irangate, these opinion makers hardly touched on Israel's role, focussing on that of President Reagan and his ex-White House chief of staff Donald Regan.

The main points of criticism emerging from the ADL survey were: "a) Israel's breach of trust, generating feelings of betrayal by a close ally; b) the resultant strained relations between Israel and the U.S. in the wake of the Pollard case; and c) initial anger at Israel's reluctance to investigate the espionage operation and its subsequent failure to appropriately punish the wrongdoers."

Foxman notes that "only the cartoonists played on anti-Semitic themes, otherwise there was this great sense of hurt at being let down by a close member of the family. After all they expect the Soviets to engage in such operations, but never Israel."

A few select quotes from editorial comment: *The San Diego Union*: "Betrayal by a friend is altogether distressing, because betrayal is hardly possible for an enemy. That is why the Pollard case involving Israel, our closest ally is so grievous: *The Miami Herald*: 'What rankles American officials is their Israeli counterparts' insensitivity...'

William Safire's column in *The New York Times*: "It was as stupid as cracking a safe in your own bank." *The Washington Post's* William Raspberry: "...Anti-Semitism, though thankfully no longer a significant part of the American debate, is still a fact of American life..."

As to the editorial cartoonists: *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* Tony Auth depicted Uncle Sam being pulled by a Star of David through his nose, under the caption "Pollard Spy Ring"; the *Universal Press Syndicate* distributed a cartoon by Patrick Oliphant depicting a blind Uncle Sam being led by a seeing dog named Israel which urinates on his leg, while other dogs, wearing Arab head-dress, laugh. *The Los Angeles Times* cartoonist Paul Conrad showed Pollard before the bench of justice. Behind him were five ethereal figures identified as Shamir, Peres, Rabin, Sharon and Arens, captioned: "Unindicted co-conspirators."

AS TO THE "fall-out" of the spy case at an inter-governmental level, Foxman contended the impact would be greatest on those discretionary elements in the rubric of "the special relationship."

There would certainly be no change in such major elements of the bi-national link such as military and economic aid, military co-operation and political support, because it was in America's interests. However, in such discretionary areas as the allocation of contracts in the "Star Wars" project, a preference for Israel over such bidders as Italy, France and Germany could well be affected.

Also under question was whether Israel could successfully re-negotiate its interest payments on its debts to the U.S. to a lower percentage. The same applied to whether the ships of the 6th Fleet would stop in Haifa once or three times a year. Other items under this heading were American defence purchases in Israel - namely elements that do not fall squarely into the category of "mutual interest" but that of friendship.

When I mentioned Tom Tugend's contention in his report for *The Jerusalem Post* from Los Angeles that the Pollard case only had an impact in Washington and New York, the ADL executive remarked: "What happens in Washington essentially concerns Israel's interests, while the media - based in New York - certainly mould American opinion across the country." He proceeded to say that if an Idaho farmer had been asked a year ago to pick adjectives describing his attitude towards Israel, he would have automatically responded with - democracy, ally, friend, trustworthy, supportive, etc. Foxman added: "I fear that today his reaction would not be as positive."

AS TO THE case's long-lasting impact on American Jewry, I put to him the contrast between the Zionist ideal of the Jewish state providing a safe refuge for all Jews, and the reality of the Israeli embassy gates being closed in the faces of two American Jews, Jonathan and Anna Pollard.

At this juncture the ADL executive was cautious in his response: "When the Pollard case is put behind us, it will be incumbent upon the two communities in Israel and the U.S. to honestly examine their relationship. The Pollard case has, indeed, left scars on the psyche of American Jews."

Pressing him further, I posed the question as to whether the image would not remain of an American Jewish couple being turned away at the embassy's locked gates, while their three Israeli handlers were whisked away to safety? His reply: "This will have to be confronted openly and honestly."

But what about the fall-out on American Jewish attitudes towards Israel. Foxman's ever-cautious reply:

"I think American Jews are waiting for a credible response from Israel. As an example I can quote from columnist William Safire, one of Israel's best friends in the U.S. media. He has written of his two loves - America and Israel. Whenever he perceives his first love undermining his second love he lashes out, despite his close affinity to the Reagan administration. But when his second love is seen to have abused his first love he reacted in similarly strong terms, going as far as to call for 'the cleansing of Israel.'

And he is an American Jew." Does he reflect the mainstream of American Jewry? "Yes, absolutely. Most American Jews do have two loves - America and Israel."

Does Foxman continue to regard Israel's attitude as still being cavalier, as the initial ADL critical statement put it? "Things have changed since then. Israel most certainly took several major steps to rectify that initial impression. But by no means does it go far enough to restore the previous level of credibility," was his frank response.

He was even more outspoken when I raised the as yet unresolved appointment of the new Israeli ambassador in Washington. He declared: "It goes to the heart of the U.S.-Israel relationship. Here we have the key position for Israel in its ties with the most important country in the world held hostage by petty partisan politics. It's very difficult to understand, and worse still to explain."

FINALLY, what of the disorganized reaction among organized U.S. Jewry over the Kremlin meetings of WJC president Edgar Bronfman. The ADL's associate national director held that U.S. Jews still speak with a united voice as regards their hopes concerning Soviet Jewish rights. However opinions do differ as to evaluating the tactics and manifestations of Gorbachev's *glasnost*, he pointed out. While Bronfman spoke for the WJC, he was accompanied by Morris Abrams, who is the current head of the Presidents' Conference, which speaks for the National Conference for Soviet Jewry. This organization, Foxman says, is the major U.S. umbrella group fighting for Soviet Jewish rights. Foxman went on to say: "They both went with agreed-upon parameters regarding the objectives of their meetings."

Yet after Bronfman's last call at the Kremlin, his top executive at the WJC, Israel Singer declared that they had been promised the exit of 100,000 Soviet Jews? Foxman replied: "This time things were different. Bronfman travelled with the foremost representative of the community."

A final question about this being yet another instance of Soviet blandishments lulling American Jewry to sleep, brought a sharp retort from one of U.S. Jewry's senior organization figures. "It is incumbent upon us to deliver a strong message to the Soviets, that while we welcome their seemingly new approach, there is little concrete evidence to indicate any real policy change. The 'mother of the refusniks,' Ida Nudel, has once again been denied an exit visa. We do not know whether the release of some refusniks was an ad hoc decision, or just part of a cosmetic and arbitrary public relations operation."

He continued: "The American Jewish community will be responsive on the Stevenson amendment (restricting trade credits to the USSR) and the Jackson-Vanik amendment (conditioning granting the most-favoured nation trade status on significant Jewish emigration) only when we see significant Jewish emigration and a basic change in policy. I can say with surety that Solidarity Day with Soviet Jewry on May 3, with its massive country-wide demonstrations, will deliver a clear message to the Kremlin, that as hopeful as we are, we are most certainly not asleep."

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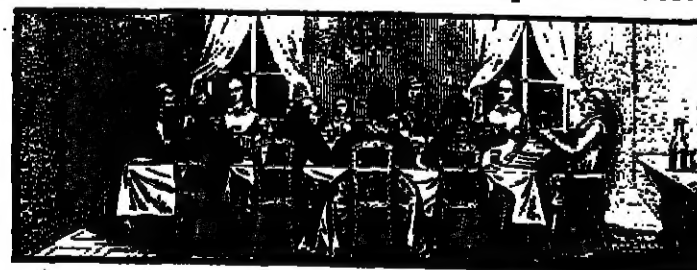
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A Time To Talk

Under Clouds Of Distrust, Shultz Heads For Moscow

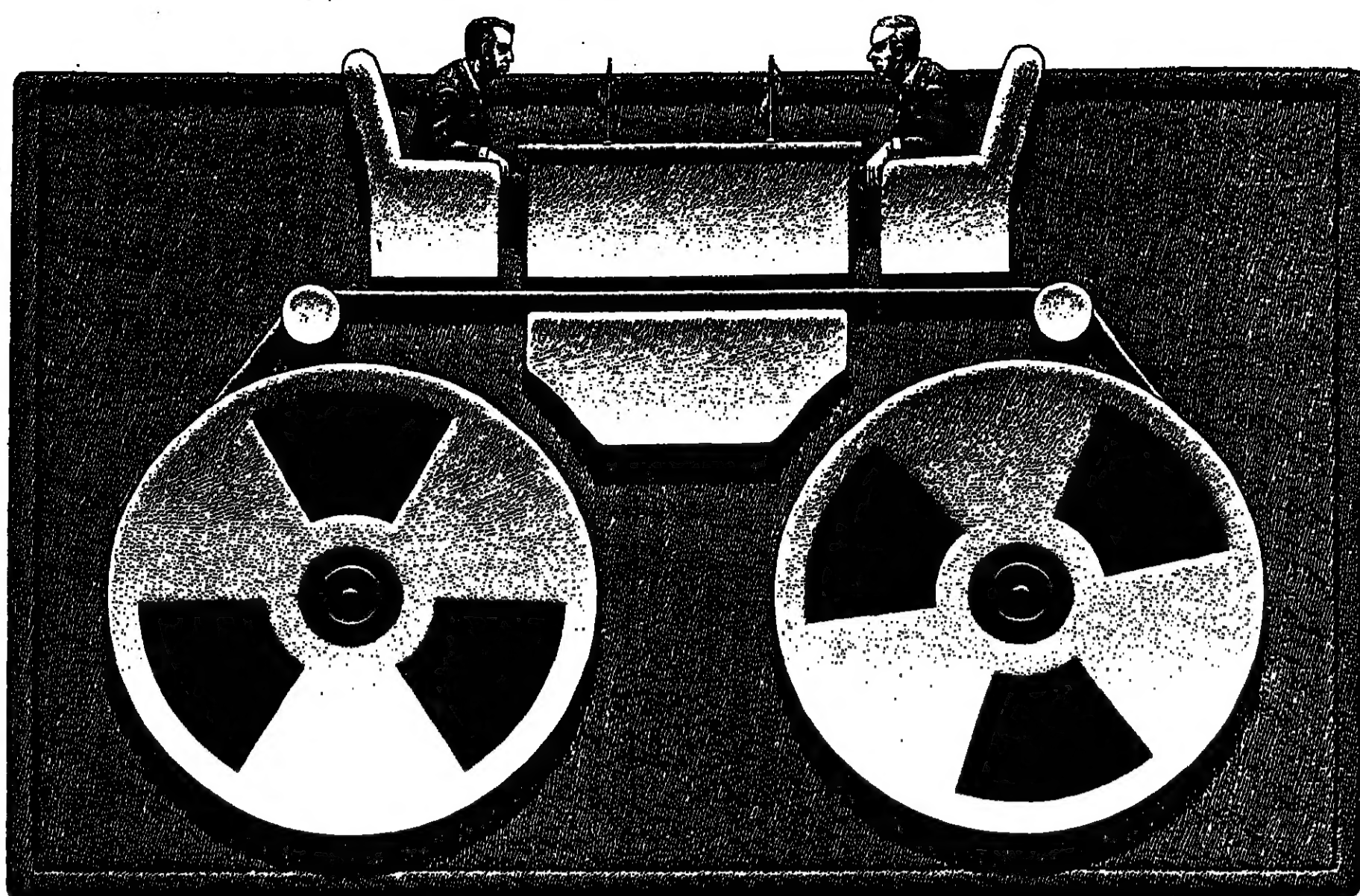
By BILL KELLER

NO eavesdropping equipment is required to detect what Soviet and American participants want from Secretary of State George P. Shultz's visit here. Both sides want to clear the way for a summit in Washington, where President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev can sign the arms control agreement that has eluded them so far.

For all the talk about seduced marines and embassy bugs, human rights and regional conflicts, when Mr. Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze sit down tomorrow morning in a Czarist-era mansion in central Moscow, their focus will be on missiles, specifically intermediate-range missiles in Europe, where an agreement seems within reach.

To get there, the men will have to penetrate a cloud of mistrust generated by the widening espionage controversy. Faint amusement was the first Soviet reaction to the charges that American Marine guards, enticed by Soviet women, allowed Soviet agents to tour the American Embassy after hours. Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi I. Gerasimov joked that Americans might have to revise the phobia of "Reds under every bed." But the mood soured with reports that the new American Embassy-in-progress is infested with electronic bugs and may have to be demolished. In Washington, 70 Senators approved a resolution that Mr. Shultz should not go to Moscow until he could find "secure facilities" to work in. President Reagan threatened to hold up Soviet access to their new embassy offices in Washington until American diplomats have a secure place to work, and the embassy matter was added to Mr. Shultz's agenda for Moscow. (Insecurity at United States Embassies, page 2.)

In response, the Soviet Foreign Ministry displayed what it said were American listening devices planted in its diplomatic missions in the United States. The point seemed to be that if the Americans expected a warm reception at the arms talks, they should let sleeping bugs lie. On the American side, the espionage charges have given diplomats the jitters. Mr. Shultz expressed anger at what he called an intrusion on sovereign American territory, but he rejected calls to cancel his trip, saying the business at hand is too important. By Friday, an embassy spokesman said the old embassy was "operating in a secure mode," so that Mr. Shultz would be able to conduct confidential meetings and communications there. Mr. Shultz is bringing strawberries and ice cream to boost diplomats' morale. The three-day visit was made possible by Mr. Gorbachev's Feb. 28 offer to negotiate the question of Euro-missiles separately from the knottier issues of longer-range, strategic weapons and space



Mirko Ilic

defenses. Both sides have agreed in principle on the so-called zero option, eliminating from European territory American and Soviet missiles with a range over 600 miles. The major remaining obstacle is the large Soviet advantage in shorter-range missiles, with ranges of 300 to 600 miles. The Soviet proposal is to freeze these shorter-range missiles at current levels in Europe, and begin negotiations aimed at eliminating them. Mr. Gorbachev reassured this stand in a speech Friday in Prague. The Americans want the right to match the 130 Soviet shorter-range missiles. It is a right the United States may be reluctant to exercise at the risk of arousing the West European left, but Mr. Shultz is expected to insist on it.

Mr. Gorbachev has largely eliminated another sticking point by agreeing that each side should have the right to inspect military installations, missile plants and test sites to make sure the missiles are dismantled and not replaced. One way to simplify this task of verification, which Mr. Shultz is expected to explore, is to scrap intermediate-range missiles outside Europe as well. The understanding calls for each side to keep a residual force of 100 warheads at home.

For both superpowers, a deal on intermediate range missiles offers a chance to lessen tensions and to enhance their prestige as peacemakers. For Mr. Gorbachev, an arms control agreement would make it easier to divert money from weapons-building to repairing his economy and may give him added stature to overcome resistance to his domestic policies. The prospect of a medium-range weapons treaty has another alluring quality for the Soviet side. It would reverse a major Reagan foreign policy victory — the fierce campaign that persuaded European allies to accept delivery of new American missiles in the first place four years ago. Moreover, Mr. Gorbachev can hope that one good deal will lead to another. If it does not pave the way for another treaty, perhaps on nuclear testing or defensive missiles, it may at least create a more relaxed climate, making the American Congress less inclined to finance an arms race.

Mr. Reagan has his own powerful incentives for

wanting an agreement, not least among them a need to revive his flagging Presidency. Although some experts have misgivings about what they see as a portentous retreat from Europe, an intermediate-range treaty can be portrayed as a good deal for America, too, as a swap of about 316 American warheads for about 1,300 Soviet warheads; Soviet approval of on-site inspection would be a major precedent.

In addition, such an agreement has support from the "Star Wars" advocates, the backers of the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, who are delighted at the prospect of an arms treaty that imposes no limits on antimissile defenses in space.

Mr. Shultz reportedly has been given limited room to maneuver on the problem of space weapons. The American military does not want to give up the option of deploying such weapons as soon as they become feasible, and the President is said to agree.

On other issues, the Soviets would like, but have little chance of getting, an American commitment to stop the flow of arms to the Afghan rebels, a concession that might hasten the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Mr. Shultz plans to raise Cambodia and Nicaragua, with little hope of resolving either. He will bring up human rights, including the fate of religious prisoners. Negotiators have nearly completed an agreement on future Soviet-American cooperation in space exploration, which Mr. Shultz and Mr. Shevardnadze may sign during the visit.

Mr. Shultz is scheduled to meet with Mr. Gorbachev on Tuesday. If his first sessions with Mr. Shevardnadze have gone badly, that may be a chance to appeal for a ruling from the top. And if the meetings have gone well, it may be the occasion to set a date for a Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington.

On the table

Arms Control

Both sides seem close on medium-range missiles (1,120 to 3,100 miles), with shorter-range missiles (300 to 600 miles) posing more of a problem. Differences on unratified treaties limiting size of explosions in nuclear tests and on the monitoring of the tests.

Progress possible toward new limits on strategic, or long-range, missiles and the ultimate banning of them. More difficult exchanges expected on space-based systems, particularly on

interpretation of 1972 ABM treaty regulating defensive missile systems; disagreement on deployment of the Reagan space-based antimissile shield called the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Embassy Security

Mutual accusations that diplomatic missions were bugged are not expected to hinder talks.

Space

Agreement is near, and may be signed, on joint exploration in space.

Regional Problems

United States support for rebels in Nicaragua, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in support of the pro-Moscow Government and Soviet support for the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia are all expected to be discussed, with little prospect of progress.

Human Rights

The question of political and religious prisoners is expected to be raised by Mr. Shultz.

Cuomo Gets His Ethics Commission, but Not His Commissioner

Albany Takes Bizarre Twists in Pursuit of the Straight and Narrow

By JEFFREY SCHMALZ

IF there was a symbol for last week's extraordinary events here it was Joseph A. Califano Jr., who was ousted as head of a commission investigating government ethics not because he was weak or ineffective but because he was perceived as too strong and unrelenting.

Not only did the Legislature successfully press for Mr. Califano's removal from Governor Cuomo's Commission on Government Integrity, but in appropriating \$5 million so the panel could begin its work, the lawmakers also expressly prohibited it from conducting any inquiry into "the management or affairs of the Legislature."

It was an appropriate end to a week in which the legislators, facing mounting public pressure and the increasing investigatory zeal of half-a-dozen prosecutors, seemed to approach a review of ethics rules from the perspective of what they could continue to get away with.

In bipartisan harmony, they passed a resolution that prohibited legislative employees from working full time on political campaigns but warmly condoned the common practice of their doing some campaign work — even a great deal of it — on legislative time.

They voted for more complete disclosure of officials' finances, then acted to conceal much of that information from public view.

And they even sent what some prosecutors, looking into possible payroll-padding abuses



Speaker Mel Miller conducting business at the Legislature in Albany last week.

and conflicts of interest at the Capitol, took as a warning that they, too, had no business investigating the Legislature. The resolution declared the legislative payroll one of "the exclusive prerogatives of the Legislature."

"Legislators say, 'You're looking good, we're looking bad,'" said Governor Cuomo, who pressed the Legislature and even ridiculed it to win passage of an ethics bill and the money for his commission. "I say, 'I didn't make you look bad, you did.'"

The Governor called Albany "under attack in the minds of the public." But he noted that the inquiries here were only part of a broader pattern extending to New York City, a pattern that "discourages people, angers people, intimidates people with respect to their political leaders."

There was certainly plenty that he could point to last week. In New York City, Richard L. Rubin, a former Assembly aide, was sentenced to five years in prison and fined more

than \$410,000 for placing two of his law firm's secretaries in "no show" jobs here. Bess Myerson, New York City's Cultural Affairs Commissioner, resigned, in part because of questions raised about the propriety of her having given a job to the daughter of a judge who later reduced the alimony that Ms. Myerson's companion was paying to his former wife.

And Jay Turloff, the former chairman of the city's Taxi and Limousine Commission, was convicted of tax violations related to his city post, though he was acquitted of a charge that he had illegally used his position to promote the interests of a taxi-meter company.

But it was Albany, not New York City, where the issue of corruption was pervasive last week. A mood took over the Capitol that was unlike any that anyone could remember. The state's \$40.9 billion budget, almost lost in the swirl of anger and tension, was not enacted until yesterday, 11 days late and so far behind that some school districts had to borrow money to make up for a crucial payment of \$1.3 billion in state aid.

A Senator Weeps

The dark joke making the rounds was that no one could get a photocopy made because the machines were burning out from the torrent of documents being copied to comply with subpoenas. A senior lawmaker, John J. Marchi, Republican of Staten Island, wept in the Senate chamber at the end of an impassioned defense of his fellow legislators, saying, "I am proud of this house."

What was worse, the ethics debate deteriorated into a bitter political power struggle between Governor Cuomo and the new Assembly Speaker, Mel Miller. Each side spread innuendo about the other. Lawmakers were confronted and asked to declare their allegiance: Were they for Califano, and therefore with the Governor? Or were they opposed to him, and aligned with the Speaker?

A majority of legislators fluctuated between anger and despair. They said the ethics bill, while not perfect, represented a

genuine strengthening of current rules. They said they objected to a gubernatorial commission's investigating them not because they were afraid, but because it was important to preserve the separation of powers. And they said Mr. Califano's record in previous inquiries showed the prominent Democrat to be not just eager but overzealous.

Other lawmakers, however, were dismayed that the issue of ethics reform seemed peripheral, lost to the priority of a system trying to preserve its ways.

They said that even Governor Cuomo, genuinely a champion of tighter ethics rules, was not without political motivation. Impressing the public as a fighter of corruption is good politics for a Governor, and would help blunt criticism should corruption be found in one of Mr. Cuomo's own agencies.

"When we should be functioning as duly elected Assembly members and Senators, our priorities instead are political year in and year out," said State Senator Nancy Lorraine Hoffmann, a Syracuse Democrat who, out of 210 legislators, was the only one officially recorded as voting against the resolution that allows legislative employees to spend some of their time on campaign work.

"How can I justify how we do business here?"

The falling dollar raises global tensions

4

The World

With Aquino, Too, Philippine Politics Is a Family Affair

By SETH MYDANS

AS one after another of the relatives of President Corason C. Aquino enters politics, increasing attention focuses on the dominant role of family relationships in the Philippines.

One of Mrs. Aquino's opponents, the 81-year-old Ramon Durano, a patriarch who is fighting to save his own political dynasty, has found an impeccable precedent. "Jesus was the one who invented the dynasty," said Mr. Durano, who heads the clan that controls much of northern Cebu Province. In a statement that Christian Bible experts might find difficult to prove, he said that all but one of the Apostles were relatives, and that one was Judas Iscariot. Mr. Durano, a local warlord who enforces his dynastic grip through economic control and armed force, may be part of a declining breed in the Philippines. But many of his countrymen, though they may not share his theology, do agree with his emphasis on family ties.

Though Mr. Durano's friend and protector, Ferdinand E. Marcos, has been banished from the country with many of the "cronies" who enriched themselves during his presidency, family ties retain a special place in Philippine politics as in the rest of society. During peace talks with Communist rebels last winter, for example, two of the insurgents' three negotiators were husband and wife. When the leader of the Government's negotiating team fell ill, his daughter took over for him.

An idealistic new constitution bans political dynasties, but that concept still has to be defined by a legislature

pedigree. Mrs. Aquino's mother, father and husband were members of three of the so-called "40 families" who dominated the nation's economy and politics in the first post-war decade.

An estranged cousin, Eduardo Cojuangco, was known as the "chief crony" of Mr. Marcos, controlling huge assets in banking, coconuts and the nation's largest industrial enterprise, the San Miguel Corporation. Today the President's brother, José Cojuangco, husband of Tinging, is said to have taken control of lucrative enterprises, including gambling casinos and port operations, and to be a political power behind the throne.

A former minister in the Marcos government, Blas Ople, who is now running for a Senate seat, used to like to describe the hierarchy of power in the Philippines half facetiously as beginning with the American Ambassador at the top, the Lopez family in second place and the President third.

Mr. Marcos managed to squeeze out the Lopez, who controlled large sugar and real estate holdings, major utilities and both print and electronic news media. He distributed the wealth of this and other major families among his friends. Many of the families he dubbed oligarchs were forced into exile or arrested when he declared martial law in 1972.

After Marcos

When Mr. Marcos was ousted 13 months ago, much of the new economic power structure he installed was broken, and a Presidential commission assigned to recover their wealth has taken over huge portions of the nation's economy. The commission has not indicated how much it expects to recover of the \$5 billion Mr. Marcos is believed to have stolen.

The commission has begun striking deals with some of the leading Marcos cronies, accepting portions of their wealth in the knowledge that it would be too expensive and time-consuming to seek to recover it all.

Given the nation's state of flux, it is still not clear how economic power and the political power will ultimately be re-distributed. Eugenio Lopez Jr., however, is one man who is back in the Philippines after years of exile, seeking to re-establish his holdings.

Given the continuing dominance of established families in both the economy and the political structure, and perhaps also because of the President's own place in this sector of society, many Filipinos are increasingly cynical about the prospects for any real land reform or re-distribution of wealth.

Seventy percent of the Philippine population is made up of farmers, a large portion of them poor and landless. Land reform is at least nominally at the top of the agenda both of the Communist insurgents and of the Government.

But Mrs. Aquino has done little to address the issue of social and economic imbalances, and many say that with a largely conservative Establishment legislature about to be elected, a promising opportunity for radical reform may have slipped away.

Mrs. Aquino is a wealthy woman herself, with holdings in a large family-owned sugar plantation. She has backed away from a widely applauded campaign promise to submit the hacienda to land reform, retreating into Marcos-style legalisms.

This turnabout has been one of the sharpest disappointments for many of her supporters, including the Catholic Church, and has handed the rebels some of their most incendiary propaganda points.



José Cojuangco, influential brother of President Aquino.

that will be elected in May. And that legislature will be made up, in significant part, of members of the old political dynasties and established families of the country.

Some of these will very likely be members of the family of President Aquino, who are running for office now with the endorsement of their powerful relative. At least six relatives are running for the 250-seat Congress. Some others hold appointive positions or are expected to run for local offices in another round of elections set for August.

President Aquino deployed both her brother-in-law, Agapito Aquino, known as Butz, and a sister-in-law, Margarita Cojuangco, known as Tinging, to handle sensitive negotiations with Muslim rebels on the southern island of Mindanao.

Though opposition candidates profess to be shocked at what they call the "new cronyism" of Mrs. Aquino, the fact is that her relatives, like the President herself, all have dynastic

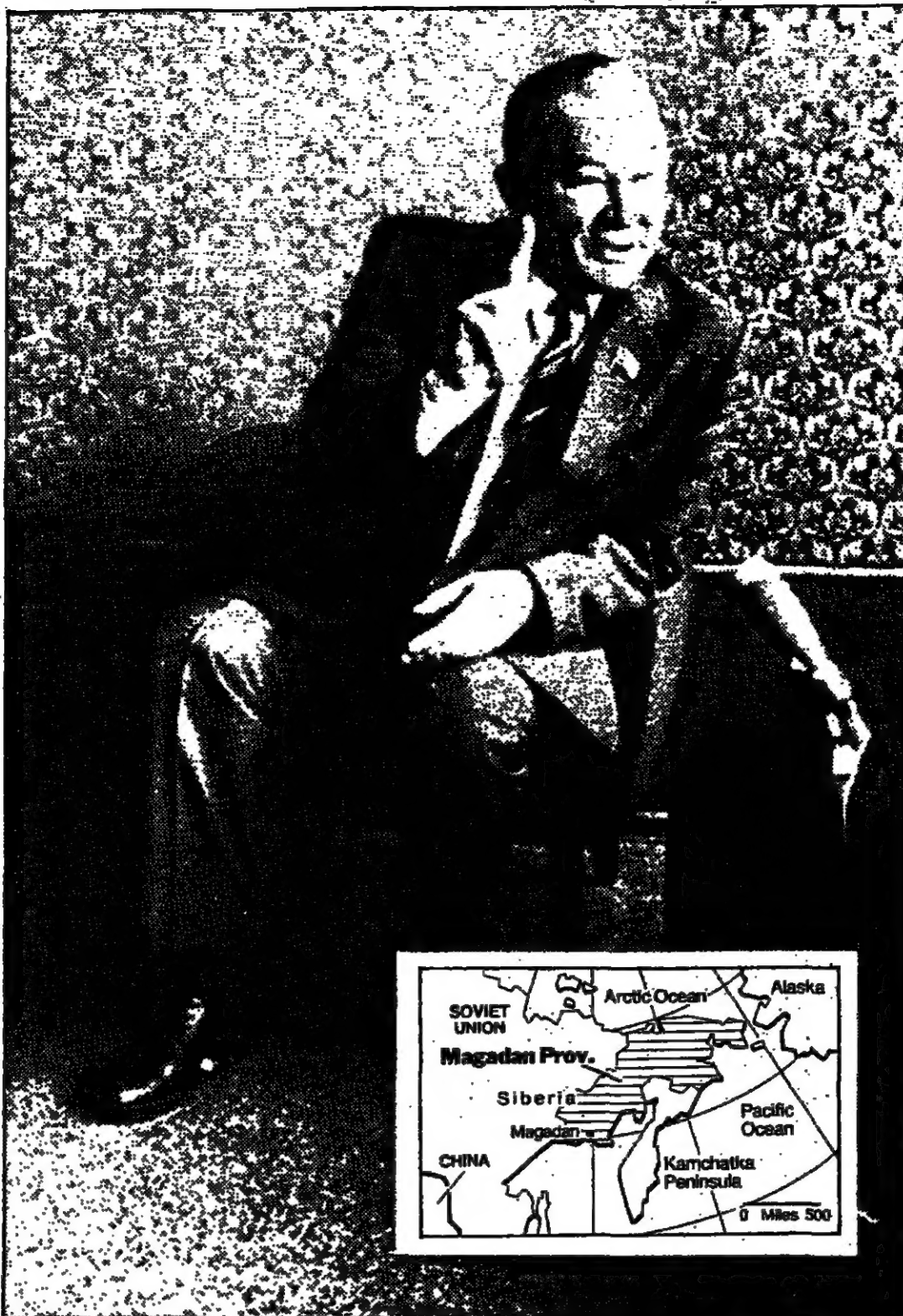
Verbatim: 'Only the Dead....'

"I do not bring forgiveness with me, nor forgetfulness. The only ones who can forgive are dead: the living have no right to forget.... The mourning of your deaths will be kept in eternal memory in our hearts — not to sustain an enduring enmity, not to maintain a sterile, debilitating hatred but to gain strength and steadfastness."

Chaim Herzog

President of Israel, visiting the site of the Nazi concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen, West Germany, where 50,000 people were killed. His visit to West Germany was the first by an Israeli head of state.

Q. & A.: A.D. Bogdanov, Provincial Official



Aleksandr D. Bogdanov, first secretary of Magadan province.

Soviet 'Restructuring' — The View From Siberia

By BILL KELLER

IN the frozen isolation of far northeastern Siberia, 4,000 miles from Moscow, adaptability is a matter of physical survival. For Communist Party leaders like Aleksandr D. Bogdanov, who became first secretary of the Magadan Province last September, it is a matter of political survival, too. Provincial officials like him are being closely watched for signs of adherence to the new Kremlin line, called "perestroika," or restructuring.

How are these officials, who were trained to accept direction from Moscow without complaint, coming to grips with the candid style of leadership under Mikhail S. Gorbachev? Mr. Bogdanov, who is in charge of an area roughly the size, latitude and population of Alaska, gave some an-

swers to that question in a recent press conference with Western journalists — in itself a rare experience for a regional party boss. The 56-year-old official, originally from the Ural Mountains, arrived here 32 years ago as an organizer for the Young Communists League. Magadan, a gold-mining region with an ethnically diverse population, is known in the West for the forced-labor camps of the Stalin era.

Following are excerpts from Mr. Bogdanov's meeting with Western reporters.

Question. What issues can you resolve yourself and when do you have to ask Moscow?

Answer. We must now work out practically all the details ourselves in the area of economic development and social services. But during the period when we work out the five-year plan — determining such things as the rate of industrial production — those broad questions we must solve in the center.

Failures in Moscow Underscore U.S. Problems

Are Embassies Chronically Insecure?

By JOEL BRINKLEY

AFTER radical Iranian students climbed over a wall and overran the United States Embassy in Teheran in 1979, investigators found that only 13 lightly armed Marines and a few civilian security officers had been guarding the 27-acre compound.

Four years later, after Muslim suicide bombers encountered almost no resistance as they destroyed two American Embassy buildings in Lebanon, investigators found that security officers had been emphasizing the construction of "safe havens" in embassy basements. Diplomats were to hide there if mobs of angry students broke into the buildings.

And after last week's revelations — a third marine arrested on charges of espionage in Moscow, while the United States and the Soviet Union each accused the other of bugging its embassies — investigators are discovering that the State Department's security program has again been concentrating on fighting the last war. Around the world, officers were busily building walls and vehicle barriers to thwart suicide bombers.

Terrorism obviously remains a real threat. But still, "we really are behind in most of these matters," said John Zolowski, a Senate aide who drafted a critical report on the Moscow embassy last fall. After the Beirut bombings, a special State Department advisory panel headed by retired Adm. Bobby R. Inman, a former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, recommended renovating or replacing more than 100 embassies and consulates. A classified appendix to that report, citing numerous examples, warned of a significant threat of espionage at the embassies in Moscow and other East European cities. It suggested that all Soviet employees be removed from the Moscow embassy because many of them worked for the K.G.B., the Soviet security agency. Secretary of State George P. Shultz endorsed the renovations and proposed a \$4.4 billion rebuilding program. But the counterespionage recommendations languished and the Soviet

employees remained in the Moscow embassy until the Kremlin withdrew them last year, in retaliation for an order to reduce the number of Russians in diplomatic posts in the United States.

"Sure there are K.G.B. agents" among them, a senior State Department officer said of the Russians cited in the Inman report when it came out. "But there are also many other loyal people who have worked for the U.S. for years despite great hardship."

The marine who was arrested last week had been a guard at the American Consulate in Leningrad five years ago. And, like two other marines in custody, the State Department said, he had improperly socialized with female Soviet embassy employees and also possibly compromised the consulate's security. A fourth marine has been accused only of breaking rules by socializing with Soviet citizens.

President Reagan denounced the Soviet operation against the embassy as "outrageous." He added that the new American Embassy in Moscow, although nearly completed, might be torn down and rebuilt if an examination showed, as two members of Congress who inspected say, that it is so riddled with bugging devices that it is beyond repair. The Russians hit back by showing journalists spying devices said to have been discovered in the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Reagan also ordered a study of security practices at embassies in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. But some members of Congress said the time for studies had passed. "The problems are already well known," said Senator Richard V. Lugar, Republican of Indiana and former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. And in a 70-30 vote last week, the Senate urged Secretary of State George P. Shultz to cancel his trip to Moscow. He ignored the advice.

Q. How often does the party send people from Moscow to look over your performance?

A. They come all the time. Almost every month. In March, we had three from the Central Committee. They come more often than before.

Q. Describe the difficulties of restructuring.

A. It's a hard, hard job, connected with the changing of psychology. To expect everyone to be able to remake himself in just an hour is unfair. Today's officials were shaped under a specific set of conditions. They studied at certain institutes, they got certain practical experience. All this influenced their style and psychology. As a political worker, I myself have a lot to learn.

Until recently, for example, we thought that everything should be brought here from the central parts of the country — potatoes, milk, meat. We thought that people in Magadan would never have their private plots of land, that they would not buy cars to keep here. Today we look at this from another angle. We have to make all the conditions for permanent living here — labor, leisure, education. We have to create our own food-producing base and such conditions that a person could live here after retirement.

Q. How have you changed personally?

A. In the last two years, I've begun to work at least one and a half times harder. We visit collectives more often. We give an account of ourselves before workers and listen to their suggestions, criticism and estimates of our work.

Q. What criticisms do you hear?

A. We have to listen to many questions on supplies of consumer goods. In some settlements this problem is solved badly. There is a lack of money for the building of clubs and schools. We hear such criticisms as, "Can't you make the builders work better?"

Q. Magadan is identified with Stalin's forced labor camps. How do you feel about that period?

A. My attitude fully coincides with the attitudes expressed in the party documents. This period of history is a complicated period in the history of our state. It was fully discussed and assessed. Therefore, the attitude to this period is clear. It was discussed openly at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, more than 30 years ago.

Q. If the analysis is concluded, can you give us some details about how many camps were here, how many prisoners there were?

A. I didn't live here at that time. I think you all know from the party documents what actually took place here....

Q. Is this subject an exception to "glasnost," or openness?

A. We lived through that period, and this page in history has been turned. It's not necessary to constantly speak about that.

Q. But the trend in Moscow is to talk about these things. Why not here in Magadan?

A. I don't know who in Moscow speaks about that. Perhaps it's you who speak about it. We cannot ban you from speaking. This issue doesn't exist here for us. There is no such question.

Q. You have begun to hold elections of workplace supervisors. What happens to these people when they are voted out of jobs?

A. We look at the reasons he was not elected. Maybe he had some violations of discipline. Or maybe there were just more reliable people elected. The party has the right to nominate him for a supervisory job in another collective. Or he can work as specialist in his profession. Today some people think it's a tragedy if a manager is voted out. Tomorrow it may become a law and established practice, and people will accept it.

Q. How will you manage to solve the problems you face, such as building new housing. If you don't expect a large increase in population?

A. You must take into consideration that, under self-financing [a policy giving local work places and offices more say], enterprises will be freeing up people who can then go to work building houses. If you take mining, up to 5.5 percent of workers in the mining industry will go to construction sites....

We ourselves don't like everything here. We don't like the wooden barracks, the shabby houses. We don't like lines for vodka. Don't think that we don't see our problems here. We don't like the low level of community services. You could call this a pioneer region. We still don't have many things for normal life. But we are still working on it. Come in the year 2000, and you will see that on the foundation of restructuring, many things will change for the better.



A Soviet policeman standing outside the new American Embassy complex in Moscow.

vices in the embassy walls. Some of these buildings are due to be replaced. But 381 foreign nationals still work in embassies in Soviet client countries, the State Department said. "They're pervasive," an intelligence official said. "They work in the garages, the snack bars, reception areas, everywhere." A Congressional investigator added, "They see who comes and goes and pass that on to the local contacts with the K.G.B. Eventually they can figure out who the C.I.A. people are. In most of these countries, all of them are either K.G.B. agents, or have been co-opted by the K.G.B."

The same complaints had once been made about the Russians in the Moscow embassy. A State Department official said there were no immediate plans to replace local employees in Warsaw, Prague or other embassies. He repeated the argument the department had used to justify keeping Soviet employees in Moscow. "If you get rid of all the foreign nationals and build up the number of Americans," he said, "that's just that many more people for the K.G.B. to work on."

April 12, 1987

How the Vatican Is Advancing Its Interests in South America

Pope's Messages Cover Democracy and Doctrine In Chile and Argentina

By ROBERTO SURO

WHEN Pope John Paul II spoke last week of democracy and dictatorship in Latin America, more often than not he was addressing a debate within his own church. In Argentina, the Pope met bishops who used his presence to condemn human-rights violations by past military regimes, and other prelates who were equally determined not to reopen old wounds. Similar dissension troubled him the week before in Chile, where Roman Catholic leaders said publicly that they have been deeply divided by the 13-year rule of President Augusto Pinochet.

In both countries, John Paul offered a response designed both to exercise leadership over the church and to promote his political goals on the Catholic continent. During a meeting with thousands of poor people in Santiago, John Paul dramatically embraced several speakers who had lashed out at the military Government, but the Pope made no direct comment to them on Chilean politics. Instead, his message was that Catholic grassroots organizations known as "base communities" should stick to religion, and he sternly warned against the politicalization of these groups, which have become more important than the parish church in many Latin American slums. A member of the papal entourage said the speech was another chapter in John Paul's campaign against the radical strains of "liberation theology" that insist the church can best serve the poor by promoting revolutionary change.

John Paul's call to avoid "the temptation to identify with parties or political positions" had special meaning in Chile, the senior Vatican official said. It reflected a concern that some activist priests are becoming too closely associated with opposition groups, especially those on the far left.

A worry often expressed by officials close to the Pope is that Chile or any other Latin American nation could go the way of Nicaragua. A large part of the church there backed the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty. But since the Sandinista takeover in 1979, Nicaraguan Catholics have become increasingly divided into three camps: those publicly supporting the Sandinistas, some who are politically neutral and those opposing the Government.

Despite arguments about tactics, the church in Chile has for a dozen years been the loudest and most effective voice of protest against the harsh Pinochet rule. Through indirect statements and gestures, the Pope made clear his support for this activity. But he never explicitly criticized the Government while he was on Chilean soil. The Pope did,

however, repeatedly condemn violent revolution as a means of changing the Government. It was for this reason, Vatican officials said, that leftist opposition leaders, including Communists, were asked to espouse "a peaceful transition to democracy" before John Paul would receive them.

On the plane to South America, the Pope described General Pinochet's Government as one that is "currently dictatorial but which is transitory by its own definition." Later, addressing Chilean bishops, he said the church could make use of this transitory aspect to avert a repetition of Nicaragua, in part by training laymen to exercise "legitimate liberties." Chilean churchmen and Vatican officials said he meant pre-empting violent, Marxist-led revolution by promoting a quick transition to democracy and then working to preserve it.

The Pinochet Image

The strategy, Vatican officials said, is based on both ethical principles and Chilean politics. President Pinochet presents himself as an anti-Communist crusader, but Chilean bishops argued that by clinging to power he is promoting radicalism in the country and church. The Pope spoke out repeatedly for human rights and called for "national reconciliation." And he was equally outspoken in warning against contamination by "extraneous ideologies," meaning the Marxism he sees as poisoning Nicaragua and other Latin American churches. Vatican officials believe Chile can be salvaged without creating an opening for the left, as has been done elsewhere on the continent in the last 10 years.

En route to Chile, the Pope drew a contrast with his native Poland where, he said, the regime is not in transition but must be seen as a permanent, strategic fact, because the Soviet Union is next door. In Latin America he can call for fundamental change, but in Poland he has devoted the same energy to seeking small improvements.

The Pope's approach was clear in Argentina last week. He praised the democracy re-established in 1983 after almost seven years of military rule. He greeted President Raul Alfonsín warmly, even though the Government has promoted a divorce law and legislation to eliminate the church's constitutionally favored position. The Pope did, of course, condemn divorce. But his basic message was that the Argentine church, which assisted the transition from military rule, must now revive and unify itself so it can help in consolidating democracy. He skirted the controversy over how to punish past human-rights violators, limiting himself to broad calls for forgiveness.

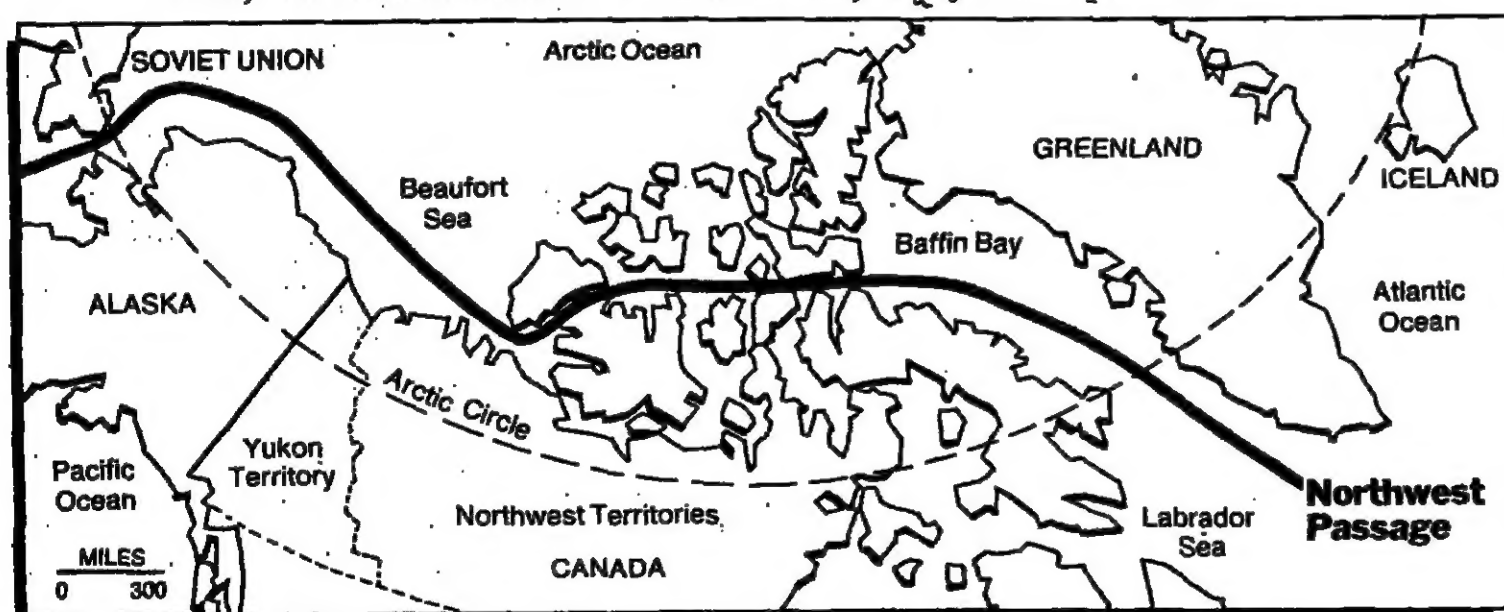
In a functioning democracy with a conservative church, John Paul was much less concerned with politics than with filling the pews.



Pope John Paul II with President Augusto Pinochet of Chile during visit to Santiago.

Sygma/G. Giansanti

U.S., Worried About Soviet Subs, May Accept an Accord



Canada's Battle for the Arctic Straits

By JOHN F. BURNS

AFASCINATION with the frozen reaches above the 60th parallel has played a central role in the development of the Canadian national consciousness. Although most Canadians have never been within a thousand miles of the region, an enthusiasm with "the Arctic sublime," as it has been described by Franklyn Griffiths, a University of Toronto political scientist who has written extensively on the subject, is part of the country's birthright.

So it has been in the longstanding dispute over the Northwest Passage, the channel of icy sea that snakes through the islands of the Canada's Arctic. Any country questioning Canadian ownership of the passage — "lock, stock and icebergs," as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney expresses it — is challenging something essential to national pride.

Last week, President Reagan found himself caught up in the issue during his visit to Ottawa, and offered what may have been an important concession. After rebuffing Canada's claim to sovereignty in the most public way possible — by dispatching two American vessels through the channel without permission in 1969 and again in 1985 — the United States agreed 18 months ago to negotiate the issue of maritime access. The talks have widened into a search for a satisfactory compromise on the sovereignty claim, and Mr. Reagan promised that he would "inject new impetus" into them.

It will be a significant victory for Mr. Mulroney's beleaguered Government if the undertaking produces the compromise discussed in recent months, one that prevents Washington from mounting any fresh challenges to Canada's claim in return for guar-

antees of unimpeded navigation by United States vessels. But such an accord, if it emerges, may owe less to a sense of good neighborliness on the part of the United States than to a determination to keep the Soviet Union out of the region.

In this century, there have been only 80 recorded crossings of the passage, all but 14 of them by Canadian ships. But there is no record of the unseen voyages of a new class of Arctic adventurer: nuclear submarines. Not quite 30 years after the first American nuclear submarine, the Nautilus, made its voyage to the North Pole, concern is growing that the Arctic, in particular the far north of Canada, could be a battleground for the subsurface navies of both sides in a future war.

Nor is that all that has given Canada increased weight in the strategic calculations of the West. The Soviet Union, along with its development of a new generation of nuclear submarines capable of sustained ice operations, has hastened the deployment of long-range cruise missiles. While some of these could be fired at American targets from submarines in the Arctic, others could be carried by Soviet bombers across the Pole and released beyond the range of existing radar.

All of this has caused the Pentagon to look more seriously at Canada's defenses, which have diminished over the last quarter of a century to the point where they are appreciated within the Western alliance more for their political symbolism than for their manpower or weapons.

Already, Canada and the United States have agreed on the construction of the North Warning System, a chain of over-the-horizon radar stations. Canada is upgrading five northern airfields for use by fighter-interceptors. In addition, the Ottawa Government recently commissioned the construction of a \$270 million Polar 8 icebreaker that will be

the largest in the world.

Lately, Perrin Beatty, the Defense Minister, has been hinting that Canada may buy one or more nuclear submarines, so as to have its own capability to monitor what goes on beneath the icecap. Pentagon officials, not keen to see another entrant into the league of nuclear navies or Canada's defense budget stretched still thinner, have been cool to the idea. But the two nations are said to be considering the deployment of an underwater electronic net of the kind that has made it difficult for Soviet submarines to enter the eastern Atlantic unobserved.

But before any of this co-operation can advance, Canada would like Washington to accept that the Northwest Passage is Canada's alone. "One of the great ironies of the position taken by the United States, if followed to its logical conclusion, is that it could lead to much greater freedom of navigation in the Arctic for the Soviets," Mr. Mulroney said on the eve of Mr. Reagan's visit.

So far, the Pentagon has seemed to prefer the risk of penetration by the Russians to the precedent that acceptance of Canada's claims in the Arctic might set for other disputed channels, such as the Libyan claim to the Gulf of Sidra. Since both Canadian opposition parties have voted to make Canada a "nonnuclear zone," American officials also worry that a future Canadian government might close the Northwest Passage to all military vessels.

Before Mr. Reagan's visit, Mr. Mulroney hinted that a guarantee of access for United States naval vessels would not be hard to work out. Introducing Mr. Reagan in Parliament, he pitched the matter another way. "Canada is not a neutral nation," he said. "We are not — and never have been — mere spectators in the struggle between freedom and tyranny."

Israel and Historians Want Them Opened

U.N.'s War Crime Files At Issue in New Debate

By ELAINE SCIOILINO

THE United Nations War Crimes Commission, which was established during World War II, went out of business in 1948 without establishing clear guidelines for access to the 36,800 files it had compiled on alleged war criminals, suspects and witnesses. The files were shipped to the fledgling United Nations Secretariat, which consulted with former commission officials and ordered them closed, except for "United Nations purposes."

The United States and Britain, among others, were anxious to put the war behind them and cooperate with the defeated Germans and Italians in rebuilding Europe. In a legal opinion still in force, the United Nations said it would not be responsible for dealing with "inquiries regarding persons charged or suspected of war crimes." Individuals and organizations asking to see the files have been politely turned down.

The records might have remained among the more obscure resources of the world organization had it not been for the discovery last year that they included a file accusing Kurt Waldheim, the former United Nations Secretary General and now the President of Austria, of war crimes. Last week, Senator Claiborne Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader, called on Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d, to put Mr. Waldheim on a list barring him from the United States.

As a result of the Waldheim case, the world organization has become embroiled in a controversy over whether the files, which are kept in two safes in a locked room in the United Nations Archives, should now be available to the public. The Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, last week asked the 17 countries that formerly constituted the commission to examine new information supplied by Israel.

Israel's chief delegate to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanyahu, has urged the 17 and the Secretary General to open the files. He says they contain a "treasure trove of new information" on the Nazis. They include mentions of major figures such as Hitler and Mussolini, he said, as well as German industrialists and factory owners accused of com-

licity in the use of forced labor; Jews used by the Germans as prison guards; Japanese soldiers wanted as war criminals by Australia; Gestapo agents in Poland, and Hungarians, Italians, Bulgarians, Albanians and Rumanians accused of war crimes.

The issue of access pits Israel, American Jewish leaders, and also historians, all of whom want to open the files, against the United States and nearly all commission members. This group wants the files to remain available only to governments and only on a limited, confidential basis. As custodian, the United Nations, which did not even exist until two years after the commission was created and which had no connection with it during its five years of existence, was caught in the middle. After months of discussions, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar decided a few weeks ago to let the former commission members decide. They voted against changing the rules.

Representatives of the United States, France, Britain, and Belgium argued that there was no need to open them since governments interested in prosecuting war criminals already had access. They said they feared that individuals might misuse the files, which contain unsubstantiated accusations that were never investigated. Some former commission members, such as Yugoslavia and Poland, have tended to bury their wartime past.

Australia, the only former member to vote for public access, argued that after so many years, secrecy was unnecessary. There were indications that the Netherlands, another former member, might reconsider. The Dutch called for a further review, saying access "for the purpose of serious research" should be given to individuals and private organizations.

United Nations officials, meanwhile, argued that the organization was being blamed for a decision made by the 17 governments. "If the governments want to open the files, we would be only too happy to comply," a top United Nations official said last week.

"But they prefer to keep them closed and stay in the background and let the U.N. take all the heat," Mr. Netanyahu, however, insisted that the decision was the responsibility of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. "The decision to lock up these files 40 years ago was a United Nations decision," he said. "It can be reversed by the Secretary General."



United Nations archives.

The Nation

Chicago's Mayor Gains New Power Along With 2d Term

Chicagoans gave Mayor Harold Washington "all the marbles," as he put it, in Tuesday's election. Not only was he re-elected by a comfortable margin, soundly defeating the alderman who had been a thorn in his side all through his first term; he also won a majority in the City Council.

There had been much talk, when one of the Mayor's three challengers withdrew just before the election, that the newly consolidated opposition could bring about his downfall. Instead, Edward R. Vrdolyak, the Cook County Democratic chairman, drew just 40 percent of the vote. Mr. Washington, Chicago's first black mayor, outpolled all his opponents combined with 52 percent, including 15 percent of whites' votes and virtually all of blacks'.

Mr. Vrdolyak had led an all-white bloc of aldermen who stymied Mr. Washington's proposals and blocked his nominations. Some of those aldermen are now changing camps; others were replaced in Tuesday's run-off voting. "People are tired of all the fighting that's gone on," said Alderman

Bernard Hansen, who switched to Mr. Washington's side before the election. "It's time to get behind the Mayor."

With a working majority behind him, Mr. Washington is expected to force Mr. Vrdolyak from the party chairmanship, oust his Council opponents from committee chairmanships and exert more influence on the county level. "Ever since Andrew Jackson," he said the day after the election, "it's been winner take all."

Webster Promises He'd Change C.I.A.

The Senate Intelligence Committee will wait until after the Easter recess to vote on whether William H. Webster should be Director of Central Intelligence. But his promises over two days of hearings last week seemed tailored, if anything, to heighten the Congressional applause that greeted his nomination.

Mr. Webster, who has gained great respect on Capitol Hill in nine years as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said that he would try to make the Central Intelligence Agency nonpolitical. Unlike the previous Director, William J. Casey, he said, he would not be a Cabinet member.

And he pledged to notify Congress of covert activities "in the timeliest way possible." Mr. Casey had been strongly criticized for failing to keep Congress informed in timely fashion, especially since the secret arms shipments to Iran became known.

Some sharper questions for Mr. Webster centered on the Iran-contra affair. In particular, senators focused on an internal memorandum he had initialed, which warned that the F.B.I. should not pass on "certain information" to Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North because he "might be involved in a future criminal probe" having to do with Central America. Mr. Webster said he did not remember the memo, which was dated almost a month before the Nov. 25 disclosure of Col. North's role in diverting profits from the arms sales to Nicaraguan rebels.

The investigation of the affair by Congressional panels and a special prosecutor took a step forward last week with President Reagan's agreement to provide relevant material from three years' worth of entries in his personal diary. Typed excerpts relating to Iran, Nicaragua and key players in the drama will be made available to the special prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh, and to committee leaders.

Martha A. Miles and Caroline Rand Herron

While Kemp Courts GOP Right...

...a Liberal and a Southerner Woo Democrats

THE Presidential field became still more crowded last week, as Representative Jack Kemp, Republican of upstate New York, moved from the paddock to the starting gate, and two Democratic Senators, Paul A. Simon of Illinois and Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee, arrived at the race track. Mr. Kemp's formal declaration had been scheduled for weeks, and Mr. Simon's announcement of a decision to run — he will declare May 18, he said — was expected for days. But Mr. Gore was still undecided, his close advisers said, as late as Friday morning; he announced his mind was made up at 2 P.M.

Mr. Kemp is a 51-year-old Los Angeles native with a can-do style who went to Congress from the Buffalo area in 1970 after an impressive career as a quarterback for the Buffalo Bills. An early convert to supply-side economics and an adherent of the gold standard, he was an architect of the Reagan tax cut in 1981.

In a rousing speech in the House Judiciary Committee hearing room, he emphasized other themes designed to consolidate support among conservative Republicans, who turn out solidly in the primary states that Mr. Kemp, as a party loyalist, has been working for years. One theme was his stalwart anti-Communism abroad; another was traditional family values at home, but his strongest pitch was for early deployment of a defense against missiles.

In a brief news conference in the Mike Mansfield Room of the Capitol, Mr. Simon also spoke of traditional values, those of the New Deal. "I am not a neo-anything," the 58-year-old former newspaper editor and publisher declared. "I am a Democrat."

Mr. Simon, a first-term Senator who defeated incumbent Republican Charles H. Percy, served 10 years in the House of Representatives from southern Illinois. He had announced earlier that he would not run, but with Governor Cuomo out of the race, many of the party's liberal constituents have not chosen another favorite. Mr. Simon's aides said he hoped to turn his Illinois base into a strong showing in neighboring Iowa, where the February caucuses will provide the first results of the 1988 contest.

Mr. Gore also used the Mike Mansfield Room to say he believes he can offer

"clearer goals" for the nation than the other candidates. But the former real estate developer, a freshman Senator who moved across Capitol Hill after four terms in the House, so far seems to be banking more on geography than on his policy differences with other candidates that he has not much elaborated. Though Mr. Gore, whose father also represented Tennessee in the Senate, said he did not intend to be a "regional candidate," he is the only Southerner in the race, and the South is considered a make-or-break region for Democrats especially. At 39, Mr. Gore is also the youngest candidate.

In the Voter's View

All three of last week's entrants are considered dark horses. But there are two ways of analyzing the public opinion polls. One way is to say that Vice President Bush and former Senator Gary of Colorado are way ahead of their competitors, with Mr. Bush's lead getting a little smaller and Mr. Hart's a little fatter. The other way is to argue, as Peter Hart, a Democratic pollster often does, that polls this early "are written in sand at the water's edge."

The March 28-29 New York Times/CBS News Poll that asked Democratic and Republican registered primary voters their Presidential preference followed their answers with another question: "Is your mind made up, or is it still too early to say for sure?" All in all, only 14 percent of the Democrats and 17 percent of the Republicans polled claimed to have a firm choice. In neither party can the leader maintain that 10 percent of his party's voters say they have made up their mind to support him.

The New York Times / CBS NEWS POLL

Early Presidential choices

	Say they prefer	Say decision is firm
Democrats		
Hart	38%	6%
Jackson	9	3
Babbitt	3	1
Dukakis	3	1
Gephardt	2	0
Gore	2	1
Biden	1	0
Clinton	0	0
Republicans		
Bush	33%	8%
Dole	19	3
Haig	7	2
Kemp	5	0
Laxalt	3	2
Robertson	3	1
DuPont	1	0
Rumsfeld	0	0

*less than one half of one percent

Poll conducted by telephone on March 28 and 29, with 1,392 respondents, including 553 registered Democratic primary voters and 394 registered Republican primary voters.

That puts candidates with 2 or even 1 percent within striking distance of the apparent front-runners. For that matter, it puts those who cannot claim hard commitments from 1 percent of their parties' faithful (as indicated by an asterisk in the chart above) not much farther behind them than the margin of sampling error of the polls.

Message of Stability Is Followed by Plunge

Jittery Traders Still Wary Of Dollar

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY JR.



Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan in Washington last week.

THE contention — immediately disputed — was that the dollar had finally reached a rough equilibrium with other currencies, after falling almost without interruption for two years.

The dollar was low enough to help redress huge imbalances in trade and capital flows and thereby revive growth in the world economy, asserted the finance ministers and central bankers of the United States and six other industrialized nations, meeting here last week. "The ministers and governors," said the official statement, "reaffirmed the view" that currencies should stabilize "around current levels."

But elsewhere, few thought that comforting words, with little action, would mend an increasingly grim economic outlook and an apparent political impasse over measures to improve it. Currency traders, who had sent the dollar plunging the week before, promptly knocked it down yet more, to a 40-year low against the Japanese yen.

"The market obviously disagrees" with the policy makers, observed Robert Solomon, an international economic specialist at the Brookings Institution. And many analysts said there was probably less reason for optimism than when the nations first announced in the "Louvre accord" of Feb. 22 that the dollar's decline had gone far enough.

"I think they underlined how shaky and noncredible the Louvre agreement is," said C. Fred Bergsten, a former Treasury Department official.

The many skeptics were unimpressed even by a Japanese plan to spur their economy by spending an extra \$35 billion, a move that would tend to slow the yen's rise. There was no assurance that it would be implemented or that it would have much effect, they said. More important to the market, it appeared, was the unsettling suggestion by Japanese Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa that the undisclosed target for the yen may have been raised somewhat since February. Under the Feb. 22 accord, the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France and Canada were obliged to intervene in exchange markets to preserve "current levels."

An Anxious Time

At week's end, there was a strong sense of anxiety that longstanding budget, trade, and other imbalances would finally combine to tip the world into recession. The West German economy is faltering, the Japanese stagnant, and yet Bonn in particular, for fear of inflation, continues to resist urgings to take expansionist measures. United States growth, too, continues lackluster. Developing countries, unable to find buyers for their goods, are progressively less able to service their mountainous debts.

In short, it is hard to identify any source of growth, particularly since further expansion of American monetary or fiscal policy would likely drive the dollar down more. The International Monetary Fund, which had predicted 3.1 percent growth in industrial countries this year, reduced that projection last week to 2.3 percent.

Before attending the finance ministers' meeting, the Federal Reserve chairman, Paul A. Volcker, warned, "Looking toward depreciation of the dollar alone to improve our trade balance would clearly pose substantial risks." If "sizeable depreciation" continued, he said, it might not only raise inflation by increasing the cost of foreign goods, but also pose a "clear danger" of recession.

Testifying Tuesday before a Senate banking panel, Mr. Volcker said a more "constructive" policy would be reduction of the Federal budget deficit. "If you don't deal with the budget deficit, you're forcing us to

rely upon foreign savings," Mr. Volcker declared. "And that is another fancy way of saying you're forcing a trade deficit." Foreigners, in other words, cannot buy the Treasury securities that finance the American budget gap if they do not earn the cash to do so by exporting more than they import.

But a few days later the House of Representatives and the Senate Budget Committee approved trillion-dollar budgets for the coming year, with estimated deficits over \$132 billion. Although both chambers would reduce projected deficits by better than \$30 billion, the dominant impression was of fiscal backsliding — and of rising sentiment for protectionism. This week the Administration is due to implement \$300 million in trade sanctions against Japanese electronics products, and later this month the House is to consider a bill to require the President to retaliate against unfair trade practices.

Inflationary Costs

Although Mr. Volcker and others note that the nation's trade deficit has already begun to decline in terms of volume, the February trade figures, to be reported Tuesday, may well show that the long-awaited improvement has yet to occur in dollar terms. The dollar's decline improves the competitiveness of American exporters and curbs the appetite for imported goods — but it also pushes up the goods' cost. Electronic equipment, women's apparel and footwear, all made more costly by the falling dollar, contributed to an increase of four-tenths of 1 percent in wholesale prices in March.

In any case, because of the overseas debt that piled up in recent years, the United States must run an estimated \$50 billion trading surplus if it is to service the debt while restoring the trade balance of seven years ago.

The dollar finished Friday at 142.50 yen, far below the 154-yen level that prevailed just before the February agreement. Yields on long-term Treasury bonds climbed back last week to above 8 percent for the first time in more than a year, and stock prices slumped.

In this increasingly tense situation, Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d said Thursday that international trading partners are beginning to show less "willingness to cooperate" with measures aimed at mutual stability and growth.

When the effort to stabilize the dollar began, with the so-called Plaza agreement in September 1985, Mr. Bergsten said, the participants were "leaning with" the economic winds because the dollar had already begun to retreat following a spectacular five-year rise. "But now," he observed pessimistically, "they're trying to lean against the wind."

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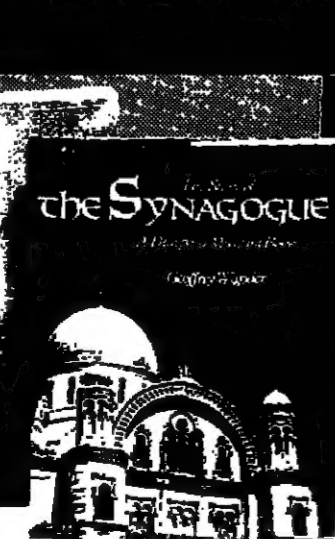


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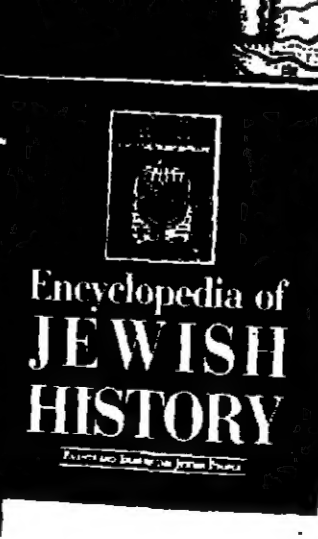
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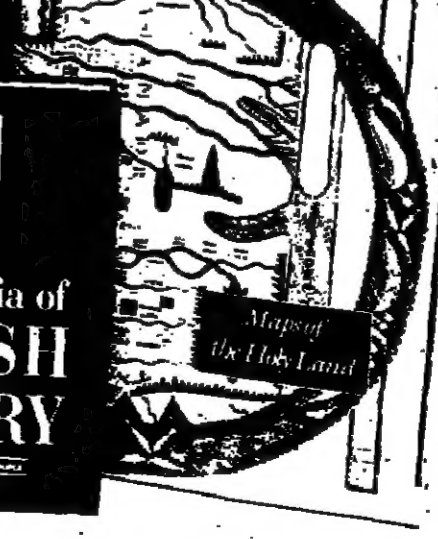
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Jason Robards Previews Old Age

By LESLIE BENNETTS

EVEN IN BEDROOM SLIPPERS and a bathrobe, he is debonair and as commanding as another man might be in a pinstriped suit. At the moment he is moving with the painful caution of the elderly and infirm, uncertain of how far to trust a deteriorating body; but in the mind's eye he is ever graceful and sure, spinning a long joke or a tall tale or a lovely woman into a dance with the same deft charm. On this stage his lines place him in a home for the elderly, but even as a decrepit retiree, he romances the nurse and teases the housekeeper with the wicked glint in his eye that has characterized performances that range from "A Thousand Clowns" to "The Iceman Cometh."

Jason Robards is back on Broadway. This time around the play is "A Month of Sundays," a bittersweet comedy set in an old folks' home in Westchester. Written by Bob Larbey, the play is a British import staged last year in London and revised for the New York production, which is directed by Gene Saks. Currently in previews, it opens on Thursday at the Ritz Theater.

Mr. Robards plays Cooper, an aging widower who, unwilling to become a burden to his boring and humorless daughter, moves into a retirement home where his daily agenda revolves around monitoring his own failing bladder and his best friend's failing memory with equally subversive humor. If Cooper's body cannot be counted upon, his mind and wit are both sharp as a razor.

Although he fills it as comfortably as an old pair of shoes, Mr. Robards required some persuading to take on this role. "I was very uncertain," he said. "It's very tricky. Some plays will jump right at you, but reading this one isn't the same as seeing it."

It took the combined urging of his wife, Lois, and Mr. Saks to bring Mr. Robards around. "I was turning it down and talking myself out of it," he recalled. "My wife was really the key to it, saying, 'You've got to take a chance and do something.' Gene had seen the play in London and said,

"Jason's got to do this," but I kept doing this hedge, not taking the plunge I should have. Finally I said, 'No, I'm not going to do it, I've got a lot of movie work coming up'—which was a big lie. Gene said, 'Let's do a reading.' So we had a reading, and the minute we read it I said, 'That's it, I've got to do it. Let's go.'"

Until he got on his feet with the script, Mr. Robards had appreciated neither the play's humor nor its other dimensions. "I'm used to these plays where I come tearing in," he said. "I didn't feel the subtleties of this play; I was blind to it. It wasn't really a question of not taking a chance; it was a question of not seeing. I thought this was just sort of funny; make a few jokes and that was it. But it isn't that at all. The guy was courageous; I didn't realize that. I just thought he'd cut himself off from the world when his wife died. But he had courage, and he determined to keep going—not to give in. I find it exciting. It says something about living: it's not over yet. I find it a hopeful play." He paused, then added with a mordant laugh, "Of course, I was one who never found O'Neill to be terribly tragic. If you can dream, you can have a great time at Harry Hope's."

Harry Hope's was, of course, the saloon that served as the setting for "The Iceman Cometh," the play that catapulted Mr. Robards to stardom in 1956. It has been as the foremost interpreter of Eugene O'Neill that the actor has won his most enduring acclaim, and the association has lasted through the decades; 30 years after his original triumph in "Iceman," Mr. Robards re-created the role of Hickey in last season's revival of the play. During the intervening years Mr. Robards took on such other O'Neill works as "Long Day's Journey Into Night," "A Moon for the Misbegotten," "A Touch of the Poet" and "Hughie," along with many other stage credits and films that ranged from his Oscar-winning performances in "All the President's Men" and "Julia" to this year's "Square Dance."

Mr. Saks, who is currently represented on Broadway with "Broadway Bound," envisioned Mr. Robards in "A Month of Sundays" from the moment he first saw the play. "The char-

acter has a bit of the devil in him, and there's something romantic about him," Mr. Saks noted. "He's charming and attractive, and he also has the dignity of someone who's funny but is not just a comedian. You need some-



Lynne Thigpen and Jason Robards in "A Month of Sundays."

body who can play both sides of this. It's a very serious play in many ways, and Jason has the ability to touch you as well as charm you. There are very few actors who have that. To me Cooper is a little bit like Jason's character in 'A Thousand Clowns.' He has

an unsentimental black nastiness with a great soul underneath. He's a flirt and a tease, and Jason is all that. He also has a quality of great curiosity—the curiosity of a gossip. There's a great thirst for life that's very disarming. For me, Jason is a real leading man. He can carry an evening onstage."

At 64, Mr. Robards is nothing if not a veteran, but more than 40 years of experience have not protected him from the uncertainties generated by a new role, particularly one as demanding as this. "This is very delicate material," he said with a frown during the tryout of "A Month of Sundays" in Durham, N.C. "The minute I get in trouble as an actor, I start

Arts & Leisure

Nor did the geographical distance from Broadway provide much comfort, it seemed. "I feel as much pressure once they're coming in here and paying as if we were in New York," he said. "People say, 'Take it easy,' but there are people out there. You've got to hit it." He slams one fist into his other palm with a resounding smack. "Maybe it's doing all those big plays, but I always feel I've got to drive a play."

He does indeed drive "A Month of Sundays." Onstage virtually every moment, Mr. Robards essentially is the play, and its amiable surface is deceptive; for the lead actor, who makes it all look easy, the evening is a grueling workout.

For Mr. Robards, age has been an elusive shadow sneaking up on him little by little, its progress almost imperceptible until the inevitable moments of truth. "It's very gradual," he said. "As time goes along, things go a little slower. It's a very slow process; you don't notice the aging. Then you throw your arm out throwing a ball with your son. Just last year I was throwing 40 yards at a crack. Now I can only get it 25 or 30 yards."

The father of a 12-year-old son and a 15-year-old daughter by his fourth (and current) wife, Mr. Robards is himself a dutiful son to a 92-year-old stepmother in a rest home in California. "Putting her in there was very, very sad," he said. "But my mother's gone Aylott a bit. She doesn't hang on," he explained, referring to the character's mental lapses.

Mr. Robards has been thinking about his stepmother quite a bit while doing this play, but he didn't realize how much he had been influenced by her until his wife pointed it out. Like Cooper, it seems, Mr. Robards's stepmother retained a tart tongue well into old age.

"My wife saw this and said, 'You're doing a lot of your mother out there,'" he reported. "I didn't realize it, and it's subconscious, but it's true. My mother is very snide sometimes; she gives you these little jabs."

Cooper too is constantly delivering needling remarks, whether doing his best to shock the nurses or to thwart his largely insufferable daughter. In his case, however, the acid wit is a de-

fense against the unspoken terror of the future. "He is shut off from his emotions," Mr. Robards observed. "He uses sarcasm to try to cover, yet he is very vulnerable underneath. But for the moment this is hopeful; it's not really about the long run. You can't worry about that. I don't mean that you can't plan a little bit for the future, but in terms of daily living you've got to take it day by day. I feel that in my own life things are more hopeful because of the children and their joy. I just must have some kind of childish hope in me. Maybe I'm looking forward still. I haven't frozen. And I think Cooper is not frozen. He's still playing little flirtatious games. He has a little world there in that home."

At the moment, Mr. Robards is worrying about such details as how creaky his character should be. For a while he was playing Cooper as very elderly, until Mr. Saks pointed out that in slowing down his physical movements Mr. Robards had also slowed down his verbal pacing to a numbing level. "The minute I get into the really physical stuff it slows me way down," Mr. Robards grumbled. "I should be able to be slow physically and fast mentally, but I can't. It's like patting my head and rubbing my stomach at the same time."

While the star experiments with varying degrees of decrepitude, the play's producer has larger questions on his mind. "This is the kind of play I grew up with," commented Emanuel Azenberg, the first to see the play in London and the one to persuade Gene Saks to see it. "There were plays like this by people like William Inge and Robert Anderson that had some social commentary, some humanity, some wit. This is a small play. There used to be room for plays like this. We're trying to say, let's make room again. If we do it well, we'll make the audience laugh and cry—two fundamental visceral responses. It may not be satisfying intellectually, but I don't think that's so important. This is about something we are very neglectful of in this society. People are living inordinately longer, and we don't know what to do with them—and they don't know what to do with themselves." He paused, and then concluded softly, "It's about dignity."

"The Assault": A Long Trail to the Foreign Oscar

A Dutch director's World War II memories helped translate the novel to film.

By MYRA FORSBERG

IT IS JANUARY 1945 IN THE Dutch city of Haarlem. While most of Europe is sipping the libations of liberation, Haarlem is shivering under a blanket of gray as its starving inhabitants patiently wait for the war to end.

In a modest bourgeois house on a quiet street live the Steenwijks. On this dreary evening, they take out a board game for amusement before curfew, and the younger son, Anton, is about to throw the dice. But before he has the chance, fate randomly rolls its own deadly pair. Several shots ring out and a cruel collaborator who has been bicycling home is killed in front of the house next door. The seaman and his daughter who live there quickly tramp out into the snow and move the body—right in front of the Steenwijks' home.

The Nazi retaliation that follows is swift and savage; the Steenwijk dwelling is torched and the innocent family murdered—only 12-year-old Anton is spared by the Germans. The questions that follow—who really killed the collaborator? why was the body moved in front of the Steenwijks' home?—and the impact of that surreal night on the adult Anton are what shape "The Assault," the movie by the Dutch director Fons Rademakers that recently won the Oscar for best foreign film.

This is not "Diary of Anne Frank" territory: the family is not Jewish, nor is it hiding Jews from the Gestapo. As the dazed mother says tearfully after the shooting, "Nothing went wrong all this time, and now near the end...." More surprising, the plot does not turn on the venerable theme of the determined hunter and his despicable prey—the grown-up Anton never considers scouring Europe for the seaman to demand an explanation or to exact retribution. Rather, it is the story of a man of inaction; his inner voice does not repeat "lest we forget," but "lest we remember."

And, as Mr. Rademakers sees it, therein lies the power of the intricate narrative: "This is a story about how

do you cope the rest of your life when such an event happens in your youth. In the meantime, it shows Anton is not seeking answers for the assault—on the contrary, he wants to suppress it.

"But it comes back at certain periods of his life—as he runs into witnesses of the event—and it's important to show the political framework of those times: it's '32 and there's Korea, or '56 during the Budapest uprising, or the 60's when there is a war in Vietnam or now, when there are anti-nuclear rallies.

"There is always a war on somewhere—that's the normal situation. The exceptional situation is peace. And that is what the movie is about—how do you cope with it? What is guilt and innocence; what is design and accident? All those layers—which are presented in terms of a whodunit—I like very much."

What Mr. Rademakers also likes very much is the book that the film is based on, by the distinguished Dutch author Harry Mulisch. Also titled "The Assault," Mr. Mulisch's novel was critically acclaimed in the Netherlands and the United States. Born in 1927, the writer embodies the war's polarities: The family of his Jewish mother was killed in concentration camps, while his father was jailed for collaborating with the Nazis. As the novelist once said, "It isn't so much that I went through the Second World War; I am the Second World War."

Mr. Rademakers, who was born in 1920 and has his own wartime memories, sought the film rights for the novel as soon as he read it: "When I told Harry I was interested in doing it, he liked the idea. But he said from the beginning, 'This is my novel, it's going to be your picture. I don't want to be involved.'"

So the director drew on the book's characters and his own recollections: A soldier in the Dutch army when the Nazis invaded the Netherlands, Mr. Rademakers was placed in a prisoner-of-war camp. An actor by profession, he was eventually released and started performing on the Amsterdam stage.

"But in 1943," he recalls, "I was arrested by two SS people, a Gestapo man and an Amsterdam policeman, for helping some Jewish friends. I had a lead in a play, and the theater had to cancel the performance because I was in jail. The Burgemeester had me released because he didn't like the idea that the theater was closed. Unbelievable, huh?"

However, the Burgemeester's influence apparently didn't last long: "A few days later, the bell rang in the middle of the night again. It was the Amsterdam policeman, telling me to run away because they were coming to fetch me again. So I escaped to Switzerland."

While the rest of Mr. Rademakers's family led a relatively calm existence during the occupation, the director has Dutch friends with searing emotional wounds similar to Anton's: "I have a Jewish friend who during the war had gone to the store and when he returned he saw that his father, mother and brother were being taken by the Germans. His first reaction was to run at them and shout, 'No, stop.' But he realized that would not help, and he hid in another house.

"He never saw them again. Can you imagine the depression that he has faced?"

It is shared nightmares such as these that have made Mr. Rademakers, whose long career in the Dutch cinema began in the late 1950's, avoid delving extensively into World War II in his films. "The only other movie I've made with the war as a backdrop is 'The Spitting Image,'" he says. "And even when I first read Harry's novel, I thought, 'No, no, no. I don't want to film a war situation, because it's too sad.' Because if you dress someone up as a German soldier, you always get the fear that this could happen again."

But the larger psychological and political threads of the novel pulled the director into the project: "Here you have a man who wants to forget his past, otherwise he can't live anymore. He becomes an anesthetologist, someone who gives patients drugs so they can't feel. And that's what he wants. But by accident, people get in his way. He meets the old woman who lived on the same street in Haarlem, and talks about the assault. The night of the Budapest upheaval he meets the son of the collaborator and they have a discussion about guilt and innocence. The collaborator's son says his father didn't know about the Jews—as if that could be possible—and that his father didn't join the Nazi party until the famous Fifth of September, when all the other Nazis temporarily ran off because they thought Montgomery would liberate Holland. He says his father wanted to take a stand against the Communists. Putting this sort of political debate on the screen for a country that lived through the Nazi occupation is something."

Outrageous Repast

By JACQUES LWER/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

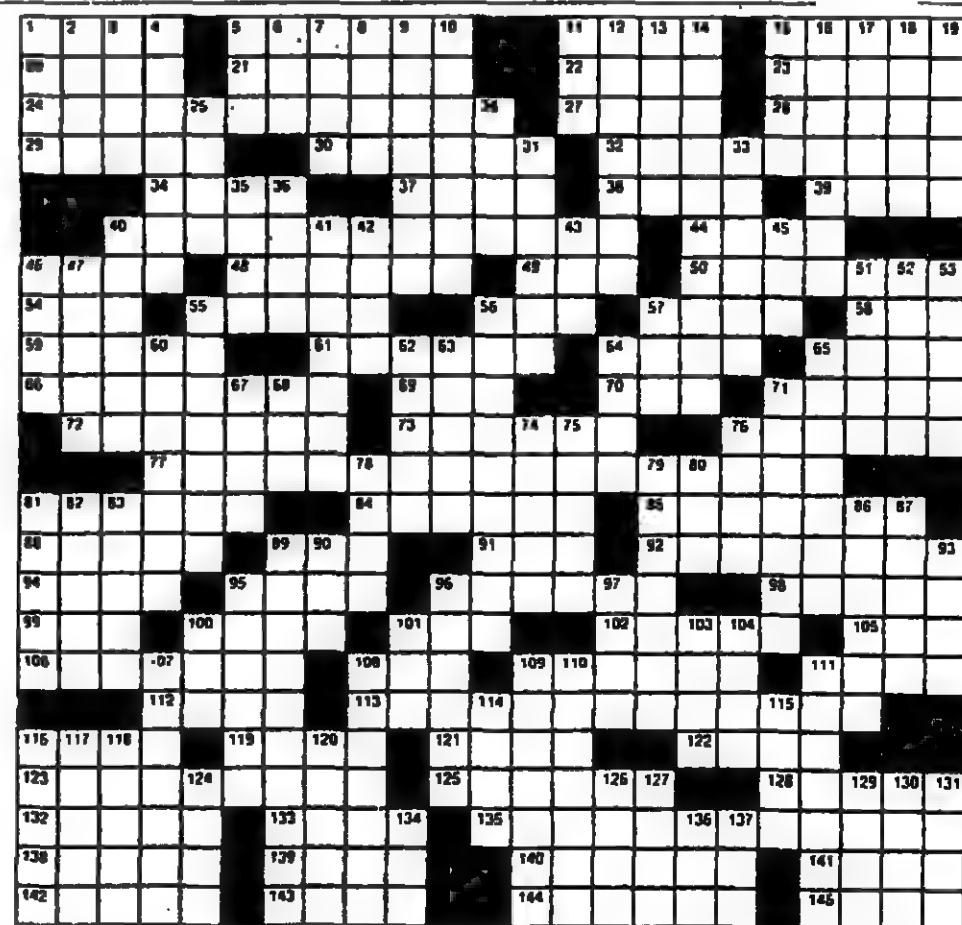
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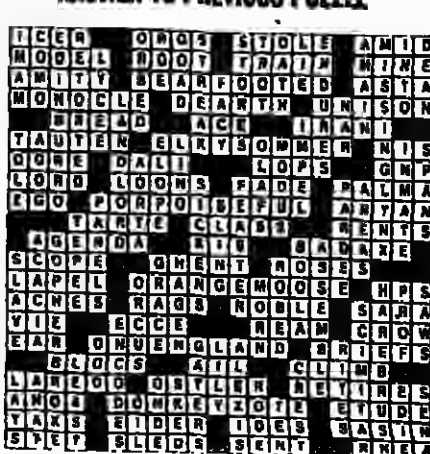
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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE



The New York Times

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What's the Alternative in Nicaragua?

Pay, shoot or talk. Those are the choices in Nicaragua. The United States can continue lavishing millions on the contras, the problematic rebel army. Or it could send in the Marines. Or it could negotiate with the Marxist Sandinistas.

These are the stark choices, none appealing, and the first two mostly theoretical. The Pay option may no longer be available. Congress, always conflicted, is turning hostile toward funding the contras. The Shoot option is fantasy; no sane observer believes the public would now tolerate the direct use of American troops in Central America.

That leaves only Talk. Yet all that's heard from the Reagan Administration on negotiation are discussions about how the Sandinistas can't be trusted to keep an agreement and how the American public can't be relied on to enforce it once reached. These objections are serious, but not decisive, especially given the weakness of the other choices.

For six years, the Administration has shrugged off successive Latin American proposals to win by negotiation what the contras have failed to win by force: the prohibition of Soviet and Cuban bases, advisers and missiles; respect for borders, and promotion of democracy and human rights. With funds for the contras likely to dry up, it is rudimentary common sense to pursue this track.

The Sandinistas can't be trusted, but they do have self-interests that could breed restraint. They seem to understand how difficult it would be for their revolution to thrive in Nicaragua under siege and with American opposition. And would they be so foolish as to invite Soviet or Cuban military presence and risk bringing down American might? Such considerations might induce them to a serious bargain, and to keep it.

Nearly everything that moves in Nicaragua is subject to American surveillance. If Nicaragua

committed a major security violation or shipped significant amounts of weapons to comrades elsewhere, the United States would quickly know it.

What could be done about such breaches? If they were massive, Washington would have cause for imposing a blockade, as it did in 1962 to force the Soviet missiles out of Cuba. What would unite Americans more behind direct action than such blatant violations? But extreme circumstances are not what doubters conjure up; they worry instead about sneaky violations, none sufficient to whip up support for use of force.

The doubters have a point, but Washington possesses a spectrum of responses, like blocking development loans and credits, dumping commodities to undercut export markets, and playing up the separatist claims of disaffected Miskito Indians. None of these are potent, but neither are the contras.

Latin American leaders have already laid the groundwork. The Contadora plan, put forward by Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama, calls for a regional ban on foreign bases and advisers, a reduction of armed forces and promotion of democracy. Costa Rica now urges a faster track — an immediate cease-fire and agreement on a precise timetable for introducing political freedoms.

As with Contadora, everybody claims to support the Costa Rican plan. Even contra leaders no longer insist on direct negotiations with the Sandinistas but say they are willing to let the internal opposition serve as their surrogates.

Even these shifts, however, have failed to concentrate the Administration's mind on negotiations that demand less than Sandinista surrender. What's the right policy for America to pursue in Nicaragua? The Reagan Administration now has none at all. Disheveled, all it now offers is an attitude.

No Wonder Mr. Gorbachev Wonders

Soviet Economic Improvement Below Expectations — headline in The New York Times, March 24.
Soviet Economy Breaks Slump; U.S. Intelligence Agencies Cite Gorbachev's Policies — headline in The Washington Post, March 27.

Moscow Seeks More-Accurate Economic Data — headline in The Wall Street Journal, April 6.

Which is right? All of the above, probably. The first story said some Soviet officials and Western experts agree that the Soviet economy is sputtering despite Mikhail Gorbachev's best efforts. National income statistics had been modified to make things look better than they really were. The failure to revitalize the economy "is widely viewed as a liability for the Soviet leader."

That account was drawn from firsthand observers, some of whom, particularly the Soviet sources, could well have their own reasons for downplaying advances under Mr. Gorbachev.

The second story, quoted from Congressional testimony by the Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency. This showed the

Soviet Union's economy last year had its best performance in a decade. It grew more than 4 percent, compared with 2.2 percent in the United States. "Gorbachev is likely to benefit politically from his modernization program over the next few years," the intelligence study said.

The third story said the Soviet Politburo had ordered a radical improvement in the accuracy of statistical reporting on the nation's economy.

Whoever is right about the state of the Soviet economy, the surest conclusion is that of the Politburo: the state of Soviet data collection is dismal. Over years of hiding the bad, exalting the good and other manipulation, the Russians have come to distrust their own data and often use American intelligence reports to help them know how they are doing. Foreigners' satellite observations can tell a lot, but they are no match for having one's own reliable data. If Mikhail Gorbachev wants to push the Soviet economy into new directions, he will need to know more about the old ones.

Voices of Spring, Faster and Louder

The thawing brooks sounded almost like bird-song, flowing into gray creeks still cuffed with ice which debouched into rivers swelling green with the spring — where phoebes rode down the currents on little ice cakes to grab the first stoneflies. As the snow melted off the fields, skunks and coons snapped up voles and moles whose tunnels had been exposed; and crows did the same, when they weren't pairing off, stalking around chatting shoulder-to-shoulder, while courting killdeer wheeled in the air overhead as agile as terns.

Sap dripped from high twigs of basswood and sugar maple trees. "Sap runs when water runs on the road," goes an old saw in sugaring country. Each skunk cabbage had thawed a ring in the snow around it, perfervidly stinky as it flowered. Red-tailed hawks were refurbishing last year's nests with sprigs of hemlock before laying their eggs; and suddenly it was the week of the red-winged blackbirds. The song sparrows arrived not far behind, and mourning doves began whooping.

The hills reddened with life. Alders sprouted

catkins in the woods, yellow coltsfoot sprang up in wild fields, and silver maples put out their blossoms. Tiny red efts climbed out of ant hills and woodpiles where they'd wintered. As the soil loosened, night crawlers emerged and kids with flashlights began to collect them to sell to the fishermen — every local river becoming as fabled as the Battenkill. Some fishermen wore waders and hats that had hand-tied flies hooked to them.

Once the snowdrifts were gone, bottle-pickers wandered the back roads, collecting beer cans to turn in for money. A south wind and strong rain had brought out the spring peepers, ringing their sleigh bells to attract mates.

At a diner north of New York City, a trapper was telling about his winter catch: a dozen foxes, three beavers, five dozen muskrats. "But the best thing I caught was my dog," he said. "I mean the dog I have now. He wasn't my dog then, but he got in the trap and he was so scared I didn't try taking him out until after I'd fed him. Then when I lifted his foot out I bandaged it up, and he's stayed right with me."

No Excuses

Taxpayers still puzzling over their 1986 returns might think twice before telephoning the Internal Revenue Service for help. A recent study by the General Accounting Office found that the agency gives wrong or incomplete answers to 37 percent of those calling its toll-free help lines.

To excuse such sloppiness, the I.R.S. blames the changing tax code and a seasonal staff. Budget turmoil has made it difficult to retain knowledgeable employees. But taxpayers are allowed no excuses in return. They are required to file accurate tax forms despite inaccurate instructions from Internal Revenue. Commissioner Lawrence Gibbs says he "would not anticipate" penalizing victims of his staff, provided, that is, a taxpayer can prove the error. But how might a person seeking advice by phone document misinformation when she has no way of knowing she's being misinformed?

The I.R.S. summarily imposes stiff fines and other penalties on people who, however innocently, fail to follow the bewildering rules. Authoritative misinformation is wrong, and there is no excuse for it.

Topics of The Times

Wise Capitulation

A mother poses a springtime problem:

A 2-year-old is about to go out to play. Mom opens the coat closet to get a jacket and the child's winter boots tumble out. The 2-year-old plops down and starts tugging them on.

How should the mother respond? When this happened to the mother's first toddler, the mother's response was to explain. "Look at the sun outside. See all this furry stuff inside your boots? You'll be so hot. And you won't be able to play in the sandbox. Here, we'll just put your shoes on." But the 2-year-old wasn't listening; she had begun to wail. The mother's jaw set. Another tantrum brewed.

Now, a few Aprils later, the scene recurred with another 2-year-old, the mother's second-born. Again she pointed out that it was neither raining nor snowing. But the child kept tugging — and the mother didn't. She buckled the boots, threw the shoes in the backpack and smiled when the neighbors looked at the toddler's curiously clad feet.

Is it any wonder second-borns are more easygoing?

Letters

Baby M Writes a Chapter in History of Families

To the Editor:

The Baby M case is virtually without precedent. The technology of surrogate motherhood did not exist until recent years. History, when faced with the unprecedented, cannot pretend to teach lessons or guide the legislator's hand.

Yet, although it can be neither morally didactic nor socially prescriptive, history need not remain silent. In the midst of immediate conflicts and highly charged and often contradictory emotions, it can at least grant us the understanding that comes with distance and example, however imperfect the example may be.

The example I propose is that of wet-nursing, the practice whereby one woman (a poor peasant) rented her breast for the suckling of the child of another woman (a better-off urban dweller). In most cases the infant was farmed out to the countryside for the period of nursing. As the historian George D. Sussman has shown in the book "Selling Mother's Milk," wet-nursing had been a Western custom since antiquity, and the practice sur-

vived in many regions into early modern times. In France, it thrived as a commercially organized cottage industry until after World War I.

Beginning in the mid-18th century, enlightened moralists, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as well as progressive medical men and concerned statesmen, campaigned against wet-nursing. For Rousseau, wet-nursing was a crime against nature and a sign of social corruption. In his eyes the mother was the only, natural nurse of the infant, and mothering was the natural function of woman. Physicians and political economists, increasingly aware of the importance of public health and population size, viewed wet-nursing as a cause of high infant-mortality rates, disease, and economic and military weakness.

The assault on wet-nursing influenced upper-class and solidly middle-class women, many of whom began in the late 18th century to nurse their own children. The Romantic cult of motherhood fixed these women in their homes, assigning them the care and upbringing of their infants, while

their husbands concerned themselves with money and careers.

However, the families of small shopkeepers and independent artisans continued to farm out their infants to impoverished peasants. The lower-middle-class and traditional working-class urban wife continued to work, either alongside her husband or in a shop of her own. Her labor was more valuable to the family outside than inside the home.

Despite a renewed offensive by moralists, medical men and government officials in the 1860's; national legislation regulating wet-nursing in the 70's, and the technological development of safe artificial infant feeding by the 90's, wet-nursing remained a booming business in France.

Wet-nursing finally came to an end after World War I, as a combined result of the dramatic drop in the participation of married women in the labor force, following the decline in small-scale industrial production and distribution, and the rising cost of wet-nurses brought about by a labor shortage in the countryside. Socioeconomic change, not moral exhortation, medical expertise, technological progress or legislative control, was primarily responsible for the changing practices of infant care and family organization.

Surrogate pregnancy, like wet-nursing, involves the renting of female bodies, the "natural" feelings of mothering and nurturing, the conflict between markets and morals, and the social relations of class and culture. In surrogacy and suckling, these elements appear in significantly different configurations, vitiating any simple analogy. But what the case of wet-nursing does suggest is that, to understand the present conflict, we should look beyond medical technology and the rhetoric of nature and morality.

Our fascination with Baby M expresses our anxiety over the changing structure of the middle-class family — in particular, over the consequences of the return of middle-class women to the labor force, and the consequent delay in childbearing and the increased incidence of middle-class infertility. These changes in the organization of the middle-class family are altering its psychological and emotional equilibrium, as well as its economic and social relations with lower-class families. The Baby M case has exposed the raw nerve of social change, as the dual dramas of family and class have been played out in the courtroom, in the press and on nightly television.

LEONARD GROOPMAN
Cambridge, Mass., April 1, 1987
The writer, a physician, is assistant professor of history and literature at Harvard University.



Douglas Florian

Why Do Marines Guard Our Embassies?

To the Editor:

I hope the allegations against two Marine Corps security guards at our Moscow embassy (front page, March 26) will raise the broader question of the propriety of using active-duty uniformed military personnel to guard United States diplomatic missions. Few, if any, other countries do this, which is no argument against the practice but might lead us to reconsider a post-World War II innovation.

While serving as United States Ambassador to Cameroon (1975-77), I began to reflect upon this incongruity: the United States, surely one of the least militaristic of nations, confronts all visitors to its embassies, consulates and other missions abroad with a snappy, crew-cut, uniformed, often medaled and (usually) armed soldier as their first American official, who actually grants or denies physical admission to the chancery.

Obviously, Yaoundé was a much more relaxed place than Moscow, where I have visited our embassy several times. Most of "our" Marines were nice fellows and had been carefully selected, but even in that environment, among friendly and hospitable local people, some got homesick or drunk — not just at thank-God-it's-Friday parties at the Marine House — and most were generally out of their depth. They made fine contributions to the social life of the diplo-

matic community, but that hardly justifies the risks or the costs of having them at posts all over the world.

To be sure, the alternative of professional civilian Americans as security guards might be as expensive. But it would remove the incongruous and wrong first impression these spit-and-polish soldiers make on foreign visitors to the buildings that house the representatives of the American people.

HERBERT J. SPIRO
Austin, Texas, March 30, 1987
The writer is professor of politics at the Kennedy Institute of the Free University of Berlin.

Vatican's Right to Speak On Human Procreation

To the Editor:

If the Vatican had forced every United States citizen to read its document on the dignity of human procreation, Jeanne-Marie Vecsey would be justified in complaining that her "freedom of thought" had been violated (letter, March 30). But if she had seen the text itself, she would not have so grossly misrepresented it.

Ms. Vecsey accuses the Vatican of "alarming disregard" for pluralistic standards for suggesting that "antiquated dictums" should be brought to bear on the complex issue of medical technology. She concedes that such technology must be regulated. Has religion no voice in setting the standard? Or does pluralism mean only secularist voices can be heard?

The Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa frequently urges American legislators to oppose apartheid on moral and religious grounds, even though the Dutch Reformed Church has a different moral code. According to Ms. Vecsey's reasoning, Bishop Tutu's church is "dangerously involving itself in politics by such illegitimate pressure and interference in others' freedom of thought and religion."

KEVIN G. LONG
Director, Public Affairs, Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights
Milwaukee, March 30, 1987

How to Privatize Big-Time College Athletics

To the Editor:

Your proposal to "Pay College Athletes Openly" (editorial, March 30) will contribute little to reforming a nationally embarrassing and intolerable situation.

Southern Methodist University's corruption of the student-athlete norm by illicit payments, together with the University of Georgia's practice of enrolling athletes in easy courses to keep them academically eligible to play, show that higher education and professionalized athletics cannot co-exist without change. Your proposal supports a separate but equal, perhaps separate and unequal classification, while continuing collegiate management of the enterprise.

Let me suggest that colleges and universities like S.M.U. and Georgia should sell their athletic programs to a local or even a regional corporation formed for the purpose. Boosters and the public could be invited to invest. The use of the school name for the teams could be licensed to such corporations, and this would also retain the financial benefits for the institutions. Athletic facilities could be leased to the privatized teams to recover capital investment in the athletic plant.

Professional leagues would thus be assured of players developed under a modern farm system without the distraction of textbooks versus play-

books. The players could enroll in courses or degree programs consistent with their energies and ambitions. The schools could return to their primary mission of providing an education to those who seek one. Athletic programs that remain under the governance of the academy would still offer amateur competition under the traditional standards.

Though the pursuit of the ideal and the practical may take quite different paths, they can still sometimes cross.

JAMES M. MCCARTHY
Bronx, March 31, 1987

Cap Baseball Salaries

To the Editor:

The Dwight Gooden case makes clear that we are paying ballplayers too much. They don't know how to spend all the money they get. We fans are in effect subsidizing the drug pushers. Much as I love baseball, no one is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars because he can throw a ball or hit it. I can remember when Ted Williams got \$18,000 for hitting .406. And a grandstand ticket to see him do it cost \$1.20.

Let's put a cap of \$250,000 on salaries, with no bonuses. To keep the clubs from cheating, put a cap on ticket prices of, say, half today's prices.

JOHN B. HOLWAY
Alexandria, Va., April 3, 1987

English Language Comes Down With Healthcare Syndrome

To the Editor:

As a shirtaal affiliate for some 30 years of the American College of Hospital Administrators, I was shocked a year or so ago when the college announced that it would henceforth be known as the American College of Healthcare Executives. The shock turned into horror a few days ago as I leafed through a publication of the college in which the illegitimate term was egregiously displayed in headlines and subheads, captions and text. However belatedly and ineffectually, I rise to protest.

Set aside the regrettable fact that "administrator" appears to have become a pejorative term, lacking the overtones of muscle that "executive" apparently conveys. But healthcare? There is no such word. Even Merriam-Webster's Third International Dictionary, which deals liberally, not to say recklessly, with neologisms, ignores it as unworthy of mention.

Furthermore, as I have insisted at innumerable campfire colloquiums since the term intruded itself into polite society 20-odd years ago, it doesn't

mean anything. It isn't health we are concerned with in our several occupations, but its absence. When our colleagues on the firing line provide care, they provide it for people, and health is the goal, not the process.

The nonword was invented when Medicare and Medicaid appeared in the 1960's, and it was convenient to have an encompassing term that included both medical and hospital services, as well as some that weren't either one but were nevertheless recognized in Medicare and Medicaid.

At a conference on medical costs convened by President Johnson in the summer of 1967 to address the fact that Medicare costs had exceeded estimates by a colossal margin, speakers and papers frequently referred to "health services," and a his-

torian examining the conference record recently discovered a single reference to "health care" — unfortunate, but still with its components decently separated. The speaker was Dr. Roger Egeberg, then dean of medicine at the University of Southern California.

But Dr. Egeberg was as blameless as the climber who dislodges the pebble that starts an avalanche. Illogical as it is and however it got started, the ridiculous nonword took hold and is now in constant use, both as substantive and adjective, as one word, thus further cheapening both its parts. Ah, well. Etymologists say my concern is senseless; this is the way language is developed. Better we should leave it alone.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM
Chicago, April 1, 1987



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Toward Real Reductions in Weapons

By Caspar W. Weinberger

The Soviet Union's decision to decouple its insistence on restrictions on the Strategic Defense Initiative from talks on intermediate-range nuclear missiles removes a major obstacle to achieving progress toward the Administration's goal of real arms reductions. However, as we proceed, we will be careful not to raise public expectations about when an accord on these missiles will be concluded.

From the start, the Administration has insisted that it would settle for nothing less than real reductions. However, because we have been willing to take as long as necessary to conclude an agreement that would be in the interests of America and our allies, "experts" in the arms control lobby have labeled us anti-arms control, suggesting that Moscow would never accept our approach.

Indeed, critics have viewed the goal of real cuts as disingenuous and unrealistic. They have pointed to their own arms control model: the strategic arms limitation talks. Yet those talks did little more than codify some of the highest levels of nuclear weapons the world has ever seen. The so-called experts' prescription is for us to offer only proposals they are sure Moscow will accept.

It seems that while Reagan Administration officials are accountable for their records, former Government officials and "experts" are not. On the question of negotiating with Moscow, however, their records, examined objectively, seem scarcely worthy of imitation.

After ridiculing President Reagan's efforts to seek deep cuts in nuclear arsenals, the "experts" must have been greatly surprised when, by the autumn of 1985, the media began reporting a Soviet willingness to consider a 25 percent, then 40 percent and finally a 50 percent reduction in strategic arms. Moreover, at the Reykjavik summit conference, deep cuts occupied the heart of the agenda.

Indeed, the tendency in the past has been to put off such difficult issues as real reductions and verification to some unspecified future date. In this way, unverifiable agreements legitimizing the growth of nuclear arms were signed, our negotiators gained a false sense of accomplishment and the public was told that great progress was being made. We were signing agreements, weren't we?

Yet, arms control and even arms reductions are not ends in themselves; they constitute a means for strengthening national security. The

control should be discarded. America's commitment should be to settle only for real reductions that also leave us with an effective deterrent. Then, instead of gloomy predictions that the President will never get an agreement, recent Soviet proposals could be assessed with cautious optimism. Thus, the Geneva talks could now be viewed as another opportunity to move forward with a serious approach to obtaining reductions in intermediate-range missiles. Such an approach does not include seeking an agreement for agreement's sake. Whatever pact is shaped in Geneva must be consistent with the West's security requirements.

We will continue to challenge the basic tenet of Soviet negotiating strategy: "What's mine is mine and

what's yours is negotiable." The Kremlin understands military power. It also appreciates that America has legitimate national security requirements, one of which is always to maintain an effective deterrent.

As the Geneva talks continue, other crucial issues must be addressed. Some critics may say that our insistence on equal constraints on American and Soviet shorter-range missiles will risk scuttling the chances for an overall agreement eliminating intermediate-range missiles. They should remember that we must never leave ourselves and our allies without an effective deterrent. Others may say, as one former Secretary of Defense has said, that effective on-site verification is "desirable, but it is probably not essential." Both of

these criticisms are misplaced. The Soviet Union has moved closer to the American and allied positions on a number of issues recently. However, if we succumb to the tendency to make concessions in advance because of a compelling urge to sign any agreement, we will undercut our security. Unfortunately, according to our critics' approach, one-sided trade-offs seem to be the essence of negotiation.

If the Soviet Union discerns a return by America to past practices, it will gladly sit back and wait for more unilateral concessions in advance. It is probably true that General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev wants to bring home a treaty. But obviously he will do so only if it is in the Soviet Union's interest; indeed, that is the

only agreement he would be allowed to bring home. He, or any successor, will exhibit patience and iron determination. So will America, for the essence of negotiation is mutual trade-offs.

Past American arms control policies have failed to recognize this vital element of reciprocity. Through this oversight, America has been saddled with bad agreements and deceived repeatedly with false hopes. This cycle of wishful thinking and self-deception is being broken. Only by maintaining our strength, insisting on mutual and effectively verifiable reductions and demonstrating our will to secure a reliable strategic defense can we succeed in bringing home an arms agreement worthy of the public's support.

ON MY MIND
A. M. Rosenthal

Minding Our Own Business

SAN FRANCISCO

For a couple of months now, newspapers have been carrying out their duty to tell television networks how to run their business. TV people get a little upset about this. They should not feel too bad, because newspapers are not picking on them — we tell everybody how to run his business.

Newspapers even tell other newspapers how to run their business but not too often and not too loud because after all we are friends. The American Society of Newspaper Editors has been meeting here, and now is a good time to take a look at the press, particularly since they have just left town.

The news about the business is that by and large newspaper people are getting better and by and large newspapers are not.

I said that recently to a group of journalists. All agreed except for one editor who pointed out that I was a rotten arrogant big-city elitist.

Young newspaper reporters are better educated than most of their elders were — except in foreign languages, where American universities are still turning out illiterates. People entering the news business now know more about economics, government and arts than the old-timers did, and many of them have graduate degrees in business and the law or sciences.

There are fewer who try to use their positions and stories as disguised instruments of advocacy, more who believe advocacy is fine as long as it is in a journal of advocacy or clearly put forward as such in a straight paper.

They accept it as given that while nobody can achieve picture objectivity, every journalist can strive incessantly toward fairness. And they are sophisticated enough to know the test. Substitute your own name in a story for the person you are writing about and if you can say well I am going to get hurt but the facts are right and there is no inuendo or anonymous attack, your story is fair. If not, do it over.

All of us in the newspaper business know that there are newspapers, large and small, that are getting better by the year through infusion of attention, talent and money. And we all know that there are even more papers that are getting none of the above and are becoming worse.

We all know that every day the news agencies like the Associated Press, Reuters, United Press International and the syndicated services of major newspapers pour huge amounts of information into newspapers and that most of them throw it away because it is usually more profitable not to print the news than to print it — less staff, less newsprint, more ad space.

Most of us know too that television has sharpened the appetite of the American public for more news and that therefore TV is a free year-round commercial for a good paper, not a threat. It isn't television that can

A look at the press: papers and people.

with the press, it is the press that can win the press.

But while so many editors and publishers do little to justify their First Amendment privileges, there are others all over the country who are expanding the definition of news beyond what happened yesterday in what happens in the most important news area of all — the mind.

Religion used to be reporting sermons by the yard. Vatican I and II woke editors to the realization that the essence of religious reporting was theology. Theologians influence seminarians and clergy, who influence congregations. That is real news.

Architecture: not many things are more important in cities and the people who live in them than buildings that pop up every day. They can make the cities more livable or block out the sun and sit on our shoulders. That is news.

So is psychiatry, where nothing ever happens at all except inquiry into why we are happy or sad, fit or misfit. The stars are news and the seas are news. And a great scientist once told me that there was no mystery in the greatest computer but eternal wonder in how a baby moved its finger; find that out.

The mind of a physicist is news and so is a poet's — oh, for the reporter who can find us Shelley.

That is what is happening in the newspaper business, growers and fossils side by side. And for the young reporter now — the whole world an orchard, full of fruit. As long as he picks the right publisher.

And, remember: Journalism can claim to be the highest form of literature. For all the highest literature is journalism, including Plato and Aristophanes trying to knock some sense into the Athens of their days and Shakespeare peopling that same Athens with Elizabethans. Nothing that is not journalism will live long as literature or be of any use while it does live. So let others cultivate what they may call literature. Journalism for me.

George Bernard Shaw. Good man.

Mr. Rosen's Long, Painful Death

By Daniel Forman

AS FAR AS I am concerned, Mr. Rosen — a pseudonym for one of my patients — died weeks before I knew him. Yet medically he was still considered alive when I met him. He was in the hospital's intensive-care unit for almost two weeks before he was transferred to my care on the general medicine floor.

After his heart attack, as the ambulance arrived to race him to the hospital, his poorly functioning heart failed to deliver precious oxygen-rich blood to his brain. Mr. Rosen received expert treatment, but while bodily function resumed elsewhere it was permanently lost in his brain. Irreversible brain death had occurred; blood-starved brain cells cannot be rejuvenated.

The patient I met was comatose. He was lying flat on his back, eyes dilated with a blank stare. Whirring machinery encircled him, fortress-like, fending off death.

Mr. Rosen's case is not unique. Dozens of patients each day enter the twilight between life and death. Sustained by technological gadgetry, they are infrequently "cured" and rarely regain consciousness. Machinery forestalls a death that otherwise would have already occurred.

As Mr. Rosen's doctor, what troubled me was that by keeping him breathing I was almost certainly increasing the family's suffering, contributing to the overburdened costs of the medical system and inflicting pain on my patient through endless blood tests, torturous suctioning of his breathing tube and catheters at every office.

Usually, resident physicians, grouped as more experienced doctors with first-year interns, begin the day visiting each patient, reviewing charts, clarifying orders and directing patient care. As Mr. Rosen's intern, however, I received little supervision. "Do what you want," I was told. "Call if there's a problem."

Providing medical care in the face of certain death saddens a doctor. Those with the choice often minimize their involvement.

So, nearly every morning I was the only doctor to visit Mr. Rosen. For the most part, he was to me simply a group of numbers. His past and his personality were irrelevant to his hospital care. I checked his blood count, his pressure, his potassium levels. These concrete parameters defined his existence.

And with such dispassionate care, Mr. Rosen's death stretched into months. When his blood pressure dropped, he received intravenous fluids. When infections threatened to overwhelm his system, he was quickly treated with powerful antibiotics. The feeding tube pumped a

Daniel Forman, is an intern at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, in Boston.

continual ooze of nutrition. The respirator monitored, supplemented and when necessary replaced his breathing. Down the hall, his heart rhythm blipped on the nursing station monitor, confirming normal functioning.

The cost per day of such care is astounding. But even more expensive is the toll on family members, who visit daily while they struggle to be hopeful and optimistic. If one day Mr. Rosen twitched, his wife would ask if he was doing better. The next day he'd swell with fluid overload, and she'd ask if he was worse. But beyond day-to-day detail was a continuum of death.

The pain of this sort of persistence mounts exponentially. Wife and family cannot allow themselves to get beyond their sorrow and resume a happier life. Like quicksand, Mr. Rosen's lingering death mired them. No one could leave for a much needed vacation, other relationships were put on hold, other commitments were neglected.

Anger often mounts as death

stretches into months. Emotional costs are compounded by the financial drain, and family resentment and guilt often intensify in an atmosphere of anger. How can one justify anger toward a loved one because he simply does not die?

Under the circumstances, imagine how particularly stressful are the issues surrounding "code status" — choosing the degree of aggressive care that should be used when the body next stops. In this age of medical-legal complexity, no doctor will make this decision for a patient's family. Those who do are frequently sued. The patient's family, like a consumer in a supermarket, is asked to select a package of care. But in the midst of guilt, anger and family dynamics, such choices are nightmares.

With an aging population, these complex issues are crucial. Their complexity is exacerbated by an economy that cannot afford the "luxury" of its own capabilities. For

whom and for what do we extend the limbo preceding certain death? The family and the doctor are constrained by the difficult legal requirements and emotional ties. We all suffer passively as the patient lingers.

Sadly, though, I rarely have heard doctors discuss our dilemma. Rather, the subject, and even the patient, are avoided whenever possible. Highly trained technically, we often lack the emotional grounding to confront the pain of inevitable death. While medical care is implemented reflexively out of both legal and philosophical obligations, a sense of guilt and regret exists in many of us who prolong such a grim course.

Weeks after I was transferred away from Mr. Rosen, I learned he died. His wife, I was told, had rushed to the hospital and had been inconsolable. Just as I had been emotionally distant while Mr. Rosen persisted, I was absent at his death.

WASHINGTON | James Reston

Reagan on Education

WASHINGTON

President Reagan has a story for every occasion and an excuse for every disaster.

He blames the Congress for the budget deficit, the Japanese for the trade deficit, his aides for the Iran-contra scandals, and now the educators for the latest security outrage at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

In California for the Easter recess, he condemned the Russians for spying on our embassy and the marines for letting them in, but then suggested that maybe the problem was not that boys like girls, but that we were no longer teaching "values" in the schools.

His story this time was about the counselor who asked his students what they'd do if they found a pocketbook with a hundred dollars inside and the owner's name on the flap. Most of them said they'd keep the money, but when they asked the counselor what he'd do, he didn't distinguish between right and wrong but ducked the question.

The national teachers' association could sue Mr. Reagan for that one, yet he was getting at a valid point, namely that we cannot explain the scandals of the present time without looking at the decline of decency and

moral values in the society as a whole.

No doubt the educational system is part of the problem. More young Americans are spending more years in school than ever before, and more, like the Marine guards in Moscow, are going to high school and beyond at greater expense than in any other country in the world.

But in this last half-century there has been a startling change in American society that requires much more knowledge of the world and places a far greater burden on the schools.

Now, as the President suggested in California, the schools are expected to perform many of the educational functions that used to be performed by the family, the settled community and the church, and they often perform them in peculiar ways.

Modern American education, most of the time and most of the places, no longer emphasizes, for example, the cultural tradition on which the Republic was founded and the Constitution written 200 years ago.

Instead, the usual school curriculum is filled not with a study of the student's responsibilities, but of his rights. It is concerned largely with elective, specialized, accidental and incidental studies, in accordance with

the student's personal ambition rather than his public responsibilities. Accordingly, it is probably not too much to say that the present generation is now coming out of school with no common body of knowledge, no common moral and intellectual discipline and no common faith.

But it would be too much to say that the schools are wholly to blame for this predicament. Look at the predicament of the American family, which always was and still is the main repository of our values; look at the divorce rates, and the rate of illegitimate births, and the dropout rates, and the models put before our children by Madison Avenue and Wall Street, and Pennsylvania Avenue,

and on the television screens of the nation.

Look also at the record of the President's own Administration. For he also is supposed to be a teacher, in fact the principal teacher in a secular society, and he has been teaching that private concerns are more important than public concerns, indeed that government is not the answer to our common problems but is itself the problem.

The President is quite right in suggesting that the society itself is also to blame for the derelictions of duty we have seen recently in Moscow, and in the basement of the White House, but the state of mind of the people is often a reflection of the quality of their responsible leaders.

For if you teach the people that they don't have to pay for what they want, that they can spend and borrow, that success is for those who equivocate and evade, that private wants are the things that matter, you shouldn't be surprised if marines chase girls and neglect their duties.

Meanwhile, I don't believe there's a teacher in the country who wouldn't tell his students to turn in the hundred bucks to the person whose name was on the pocketbook flap.

Not only schools get the blame for moral failure.

Critics 'bankrupt' concept of arms control should be discarded.

arms control lobby's greatest mistake has been to treat arms control treaties as ends in themselves and to advocate negotiating them without other strategic considerations. Such an approach does not accord with common sense.

When President Reagan proposed the complete elimination of American and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles — the zero option — in 1981, critics said he was naïve. They said Moscow would never accept such an approach if French and British nuclear forces were not included. By last year, Moscow had given up its cherished position on the inclusion of the French and British missiles; this year, it suddenly gave up its insistence that we kill strategic defense as a precondition for an agreement.

Why the sudden shift? In addition to Britain's and France's support for our position, two important things have happened since President Reagan took office in 1981. The first is his determination to bargain from a position of renewed military strength; the second is Administration determination to take as long as necessary to insure that any agreement represents American and allied interests.

In 1983, when Ronald Reagan introduced another radical departure from conventional wisdom, the nay-sayers claimed that the Strategic Defense Initiative would "destabilize" the strategic balance. So perverted had the logic of arms control at any cost become that some saw it as yet another bargaining chip.

However, the public has put its weight behind the President, a clear signal to the Kremlin that, despite the arms control lobby, the Administration would remain firm in its determination to seek a safer, more stable approach to deterrence.

After Reykjavik, one former arms negotiator confidently predicted that "there would be no agreement on reducing strategic or medium-range nuclear weapons without U.S. concessions" on S.D.I. In true form, he added: "There is no question that S.D.I. is a good bargaining chip. The question is when to play it." But once again, what would never happen did. Moscow, faced with our firmness on strategic defense, dropped its insistence that S.D.I. be part of any talks on intermediate-range forces.

Because of their record alone, the critics' bankrupt concept of arms control should be discarded.

Caspar W. Weinberger is Secretary of Defense.

Guiding Rockwell Beyond the B-1

As the bomber program ends, the company looks to electronics.

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

LOS ANGELES ABOUT a year from now, if all goes as planned, a huge Rockwell International hangar in the California desert will open its doors and the 100th and final B-1B bomber will roll off the production line into the nation's strategic arsenal.

It will be a bittersweet moment for Robert Anderson, who should by then have retired after 14 years as Rockwell's chief executive. And it will be a point of transition for Donald R. Beall, Rockwell's 49-year-old president, who is expected to succeed Mr. Anderson in February.

Indeed, for the last 15 years, Rockwell has been consumed by the B-1, one of the most expensive and controversial military aircraft programs ever. The payoff has been handsome. The B-1 should account for more than a quarter of Rockwell's projected fiscal 1987 sales of \$12 billion and a similar percentage of its \$700 million-plus in net profits.

But now, as the program winds down, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Beall keep hearing a single question: What happens to Rockwell after the B-1?

In answering it, both men are eager to minimize the impact of the project on Rockwell's fortunes. "This was a hell of a great company before the B-1 and will be a stronger company should the B-1 wind down as presently scheduled," Mr. Beall said.

Their strategy is designed to cope both with the end of the bomber program and changes in the military contracting environment. They are transforming Rockwell from a company largely dependent on big aerospace contracts to one stressing smaller, technology-rich commercial and military electronics businesses.

The shift underscores what is happening throughout the aerospace industry. Wall Street has grown wary of most companies that are highly dependent on Government contracts. Such companies often experience boom and bust cycles caused by programs that go full tilt for years, then end abruptly. "For defense contractors, the nightmare is always what to do when this contract runs out, to avoid falling into a black hole," said Wolfgang R. Demisch, an analyst at the First Boston Corporation.

Thus, in an era of little or no growth in the defense budget, contractors must look elsewhere for their own growth. Commercial businesses are one avenue. And within the military sphere, demand for sophisticated electronic systems to guide and operate weaponry continues to increase, spurring investments in that area.

SOME 18,000 Rockwell workers will probably have lost their jobs by the time the B-1 program ends. And Rockwell has little prospect of winning another major military aircraft project soon.

Still, Rockwell faces the end of the B-1 project in fairly good financial shape. For its fiscal year ended Sept. 30, Rockwell earned \$611.2 million. Revenues were \$12.3 billion. For its first quarter, Rockwell had net income of \$149.4 million, or \$1.05 a share, up 19 percent over the previous year. The company's stock, which was as low as \$37 last year, traded in the high \$50's last week.

Rockwell also seems well situated strategically. Even without the B-1, it is flush with Government business — including the space shuttle orbiter and main engines; research on the Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as Star Wars, and major satellite and missile contracts. And in addition to its growing military and commercial electronics business, the company makes a variety of industrial products including truck axles and Goss printing presses.

The diversification has given Rockwell something of a split personality. It has two headquarters offices: one in Pittsburgh, that was set up when the company specialized in industrial products, and a newer one at the edge of Los Angeles International Airport in El Segundo, near its high-technology aerospace operations. Mr. Anderson works out of both offices. Mr. Beall is based in California. Although company executives say they will maintain the two headquarters indefinitely, El Segundo is where the decisions are made.

For the most part, those decisions



The B-1 bomber, top; at right, Robert Anderson, Rockwell's chief executive.

have been the right ones, say analysts and company executives. "Rockwell has positioned itself so it can look into that black hole and smile," Mr. Demisch said. Added Mr. Anderson: "We're not going to be decimated. We have a balanced mix of businesses and a conservative balance sheet."

Other defense contractors are trying to position themselves similarly. The Lockheed Corporation, for example, faces the end of the \$6.7 billion C-5B transport plane program at its plant in Marietta, Ga. That program employs 9,000 people and should account for more than a quarter of Lockheed's earnings this year.

To make up for the loss of the C-5 project, Lockheed is competing for other Government contracts, including the next generation of Air Force fighter jets. Last year it also purchased Sanders Associates, a major defense electronics company.

ROCKWELL'S path toward diversification has not always been smooth.

In the early 1970's, the Apollo space program, for which Rockwell was a prime contractor, came to an end. With fewer checks coming in from NASA, Rockwell tried to apply its technological skills to consumer products. In 1973 it bought the Admiral Corporation, on the theory that a company that sent a man to the moon could build a better television.

The assumption was wrong. Few of Rockwell's skills transferred to the price-sensitive consumer marketplace. Under Rockwell, Admiral was able to build what it called "the Cadillac of televisions," but not at a price anyone would pay. Rockwell admitted defeat and sold Admiral in 1979. "We did our best and it wasn't good enough," Mr. Anderson said.

In the 1980's, Rockwell remembered well the lessons it learned from the Admiral fiasco. It has shunned businesses it knows nothing about.

Two years ago, Rockwell spent \$1.7 billion to acquire the Allen-Bradley Company, a leader in factory controls and automation. Allen-Bradley itself has one of the nation's most advanced computer integrated manufacturing facilities. The company was close enough to Rockwell's commercial electronics business to be familiar, but it was also judged to be a fast-growing, non-Government business that could expand even more rapidly with capital infusions from Rockwell.

"We needed a good, strong growth business that would make up for the loss of the B-1," Mr. Anderson said. "We want a strategic mix so we are not completely subject to the political winds of what might happen to a B-1 or a space shuttle."

Rockwell has made 11 smaller acquisitions to help round Allen-Bradley's product line. The biggest was a \$100 million deal for the Electronics Corporation of America, which makes photoelectric controls and flame-monitoring devices.

The spending spree has yet to pay off. Allen-Bradley's financial results so far have been lackluster, and analysts worry that the unit might prove to be too cyclical, like Rockwell's automotive components business.

Mr. Anderson acknowledged that Allen-Bradley is suffering while one of its biggest customers, the General



Motors Company, reassesses its capital spending plans. The repeal of the investment tax credit, which has temporarily slowed some capital outlays, has also hurt. Still, he retains his optimism. "We're in a little plateau now, but I have no lack of faith in Allen Bradley," Mr. Anderson said.

Rockwell has also been investing heavily on the military side of its electronics business. The combination of the commercial electronics sector, including Allen-Bradley, and military electronics should be "the primary driver of growth through and beyond the end of the B-1 production program," Mr. Anderson said.

In the last fiscal year, operating earnings for the electronics sector were \$400.5 million, up 13 percent from the prior year. Electronics sales rose 23.5 percent, to \$4.2 billion, more than a third of Rockwell's revenues.

Another big growth area for Rockwell has been satellites. The company is working on the largest satellite program ever — a \$1.2 billion contract to build 28 Navstar navigation-guidance satellites for the Air Force. If Star Wars moves from the research and development phase to deployment, Rockwell would probably get a big piece of that business, as well.

On the low-technology side, its automotive components business has been suffering from weakness among its main customers, truck builders. There is recurrent speculation that Rockwell would like to get out of that business, but Mr. Beall denies this. Rockwell's printing press business has been growing steadily, though at \$22 million in sales last year it is a tiny part of the company.

SOME of the biggest enhancements to Rockwell's bottom line in the next several years will come from events beyond the company's control. A lower corporate tax rate and more liberal rules for accounting for overfunded pension plans will add substantially to net earnings. In addition, the Government has asked Rockwell to build a space shuttle to replace the Challenger. Work on the \$2 billion contract is expected to start later this year, just as B-1 work begins to tail off.

Rockwell has remained relatively untainted by the controversy that has swirled around the B-1. For several months, Representative Les Aspin, the Wisconsin Democrat who is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and other officials have been publicly questioning whether the B-1 is a \$20 billion lemon, incapable of performing without billions of dollars in repairs or modifications.

The B-1 has been built under intense time and budget pressure. The Air Force, in an unusual move, opted

to serve as the prime contractor for the program itself, meaning that it had ultimate responsibility for integrating the offensive and defensive systems into the aircraft being assembled by Rockwell.

Much of the criticism of the plane now is directed at the Air Force's management of the program and at the defensive avionics systems built by the AIL division of the Eaton Corporation. Among other problems, the defensive and offensive avionics jam each other, forcing the pilot to choose between protecting himself and carrying out his mission, Mr. Aspin said.

A few fingers have been pointed at Rockwell over problems such as fuel leaks. But in general, Rockwell appears to be finishing the program with its reputation intact for handling big aircraft programs efficiently. And whatever else the company does, it is the big aerospace projects that keep it in the national spotlight.

Federal money to build the Challenger replacement — the fifth shuttle orbiter — is scheduled to become available in August. Until then, Rockwell is spending \$20 million of its own money to keep technicians on the project, which is expected to take 45 months to complete. Portions of the new orbiter will be built from spare parts that Rockwell already makes.

AT A GLANCE

Rockwell International

All dollar amounts in thousands, except per share data

Three months ended	1986	1985
Dec. 31		
Revenues	\$2,888,000	\$2,767,000
Net income	149,400	125,800
Earnings per share	\$1.05	\$0.84
Year ended	1986	1985
Sept. 30		
Revenues	\$12,388,000	\$11,483,100
Net income	611,200	595,300
Earnings per share	\$4.12	\$4.00
Total assets, Sept. 30, 1986	\$7,703,400	
Current assets	3,837,500	
Current liabilities	3,411,400	
Long-term debt	827,400	
Book value per share, Sept. 30, 1986	\$21.88	
Stock price, April 9, 1987		
N.Y.S.E. consolidated close	58 1/2	
Stock price, 52-week range	61 1/2-37	
Employees, Dec. 31, 1986	121,194	
Headquarters	Pittsburgh	

Rockwell's involvement with high-visibility programs is likely to continue beyond the B-1 and the shuttle. The company hopes to build a large portion of the planned space station, which is expected to become operational by the middle or late 1990's. (The project, though, has already been scaled back.)

Rockwell is also competing to design the so-called National Aerospace Plane, which would be a combination hypersonic passenger plane and low-orbit space vehicle. That project is not likely to come off the drawing boards until early in the next century. The next major event at Rockwell is expected to be the passing of the baton from Mr. Anderson to Mr. Beall. Mr. Anderson already is playing Mr. Outside to Mr. Beall's Mr. Inside. Mr. Anderson spends much of his time speaking out on issues such as the need for a national space policy, while Mr. Beall runs the company. Still, the men are in close touch, and claim to think much alike. "We communicate in half sentences," Mr. Beall said.

Indeed, they are similar in background and temperament. Both joined the company in 1968 from the automotive industry — Mr. Anderson from Chrysler, where he headed the Chrysler/Plymouth division, and Mr. Beall from Ford, where he was an engineer. Both are described as intense, demanding and persistent. (Mr. Anderson learned to fly so that he could score goodwill points with Air Force officers during Rockwell's efforts to get the B-1 revived in the 1970's.) And they seem to share the same vision of what the company should be. Mr. Beall is not expected to make any significant strategic shifts.

With the B-1 throwing off cash, Wall Street is wondering whether Rockwell might be looking for another big acquisition. Mr. Beall says no, unless an unexpected and perfect opportunity comes along. "We're in the businesses we want to be in," he said. "We do not have in our planning to do another Allen-Bradley-sized deal and enter an altogether new business." Even without the B-1 and another big acquisition, Rockwell will still have plenty on its hands.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

The dollar's nosedive continued, despite, or perhaps because of, a reaffirmation by the major industrialized countries that currency rates must be stabilized. The Group of Seven renewed the pledge made in February in Paris to support the dollar. But hints, especially the statement of James A. Baker 3d, the Treasury Secretary, that the dollar's decline was "orderly," led traders to believe that the support level was lower than the dollar was trading. Indeed, they traded the dollar to 46-year lows against the yen. Traders were also confused by comments by Paul A. Volcker, the Fed chairman, that a further drop would damage the economy and cause renewed inflation — comments that seemed to conflict with Mr. Baker's. Widespread intervention at the end of the week, and some conciliatory comments by Mr. Baker, helped stabilize the dollar.

The agreement followed pledges by Japan to spend \$34 billion on its economy, which could reduce its huge trade surpluses. But analysts say Japan has made such pledges before, to no avail.

Bond prices slumped on the belief that inflation will rekindle and pessimism that the fall of the dollar can be slowed. Stocks, too, had a rough week. After a record close of 2,405.54 on Monday, the Dow Jones industrial average suffered some double-digit losses and ended at 2,338.78, down 51.56 for the week.

Texasco was dealt a blow by the Supreme Court, which ruled that a Federal court in New York erred when it said Texasco did not have to post the full \$12 billion bond while it appealed a jury award to Pennzoil. But a Texas appeals court also barred Pennzoil from seizing any Texasco assets, pending a ruling this week. The Supreme Court action, which means Texasco might have to come up with \$11 billion, puts a lot of pressure on Texasco to settle out of court with Pennzoil, which said Texasco short-circuited its deal to buy a portion of Getty Oil in 1984. And the specter of bankruptcy also looms, since Texasco said Chapter 11 might be unavoidable, unless the courts grant it relief.

Producer prices surged four-tenths of 1 percent in March, driven higher by the cost of food, which rose for the first time in months. Energy prices fell over all, but gasoline and heating oil rose. The report added gloom to the economic outlook, since it means inflation has revived some after last year's 2.5 percent drop.

Reluctance of American banks to continue to loan money to the third world threatens Mr. Baker's debt initiative. The Treasury Secretary told the I.M.F. and commercial banks that new alternative lending options must be developed to avoid short-circuiting expansion policies being adopted by developing countries, which would threaten the prospects for repayments of current debts.

Earnings at three banks suffered because of loans to Brazil that they declared as nonperforming. J.P. Morgan's net fell 3.2 percent in the first quarter. First Chicago's rose just 3.2 percent, and Mellon had a \$80 million loss. Brazil, meanwhile, is asking creditors informally to roll over some short-term debt.

A former official of the New York Fed leaked sensitive interest-rate in-



James A. Baker 3d

formation to Bevil, Bresler & Schulman, according to testimony at the fraud trial of Gilbert C. Schulman, the former president of the securities brokerage. The former Fed official, Robert A. Rough, has not been charged but is under investigation.

Kidder, Peabody is expected to settle insider trading charges with the S.E.C. and to return millions of dollars of profits from the trades. Earlier in the week three traders — Richard B. Wigton and Timothy L. Tabor of Kidder and Robert M. Freeman of Goldman, Sachs — were indicted on Federal insider charges.

A hostile bid for GenCorp was dropped by Wagner & Brown and AFG Industries after a spirited defense that included an offer by GenCorp to buy back 54 percent of its own shares for \$130 each. The bidders had offered \$100 a share.

Hospital Corporation received a \$3.8 billion bid from a group including two former executives of Republic Health, another hospital chain.

UAL may be the target of a takeover attempt. Its stock has been rising sharply in recent days and developer Donald J. Trump, who has accumulated about 5 percent, has said that he does not agree with the way the company is being run. UAL owns United Airlines, Hertz and hotels. United's pilots have offered \$4.5 billion for the airline, but the company played down the offer, apparently because financing was not arranged.

Donald C. Burr resigned as executive vice president of Texas Air. Mr. Burr built People Express into a major force in commercial aviation before he sold it to Texas Air.

Caesars World appeared to avoid being acquired by Martin T. Sosnoff, its largest shareholder. Caesars offered shareholders a recapitalization plan worth at least \$31 a share, better than Mr. Sosnoff's \$28 a share.

Dart withdrew its bid for Supermarkets General, saying it was tired of waiting for an answer to its \$1.7 billion offer. But it said it was still open to acquiring the company.

Miscellaneous. Standard Oil called inadequate British Petroleum's \$7.4 billion bid for the Standard shares it does not already own. Lotus was sued for copyright infringement on its Visicalc software program. National Distillers is selling its spirits division to American Brand for \$545 million. Avon is acquiring Giorgio for \$185 million.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 10, 1987

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Texasco	21,646,900	31 1/2	- 5 1/4
UAL	13,679,000	72 1/2	+13 1/2
IBM	10,068,800	145	- 4 1/2
G Mot	9,288,900	86	+ 6 1/2
USX	9,094,200	27 1/2	- 1 1/2
AT&T	8,749,100	23 1/2	- 1
Cent E	7,647,700	20 1/2	- 1 1/2
Caesar	7,631,900	32 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Bell So	7,449,300	37 1/2	- 2 1/2
Gn Corp	6,839,900	118	+ 3
Ford M	6,464,000	86 1/2	- 1 1/2
Phil M	5,857,000	89	- 1 1/2
Gen El	5,842,200	107	- 2 1/2
Sears	5,677,400	53 1/2	- 7 1/2
NT Semi	5,215,900	14 1/2	- 1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
558	1,437	2,185	235	66
Week	864	1,089	177	53
Prev. Week				

VOLUME

(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	889,714,200	12,961,354,248
Same Per. 1986	756,502,634	10,358,207,093

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Prev. Week
New York Stock Exchange			
Indust	236.5	201.1	-4.40
Transp	143.1	139.8	-1.73
Util	76.1	72.0	-4.08
Finance	158.7	152.9	-4.74
Composites	171.6	165.2	-4.48

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust

351.8	337.5	339.8	-7.83
20 Transp	235.9	228.0	-3.96
40 Util	115.9	108.8	-6.66
40 Financial	30.1	28.7	-1.09
500 Stocks	303.8	290.9	-7.92

Dow Jones

30 Indust	2428.4	2305.1	-238.7
20 Transp	973.8	940.0	-33.8
15 Util	215.7	202.1	-13.6
65 Comb	801.6	858.8	-57.2

The American Stock Exchange

400 Indust

351.8	337.5	339.8	-7.83
20 Transp	235.9	228.0	-3.96
40 Util	115.9	108.8	-6.66
40 Financial	30.1	28.7	-1.09
500 Stocks	303.8	290.9	-7.92

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 10, 1987

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Block E	5,082,900	2 1/2	- 1/2
Wicks	4,336,500	4 1/2	- 1/2
Echo Bay	2,321,800	44 1/2	+ 1 1/2
WDigital	2,171,300	24	- 3/4
Texas Air	2,122,500	39 1/2	- 1 1/2
Wang	1,967,300	14 1/2	- 1/2
Alza	1,922,800	37 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Red Lion	1,467,000	18	- 1/2
Amdahl	1,461,700	37	- 1
Home Sh	1,122,900	19 1/2	- 1/2

MARKET DIARY

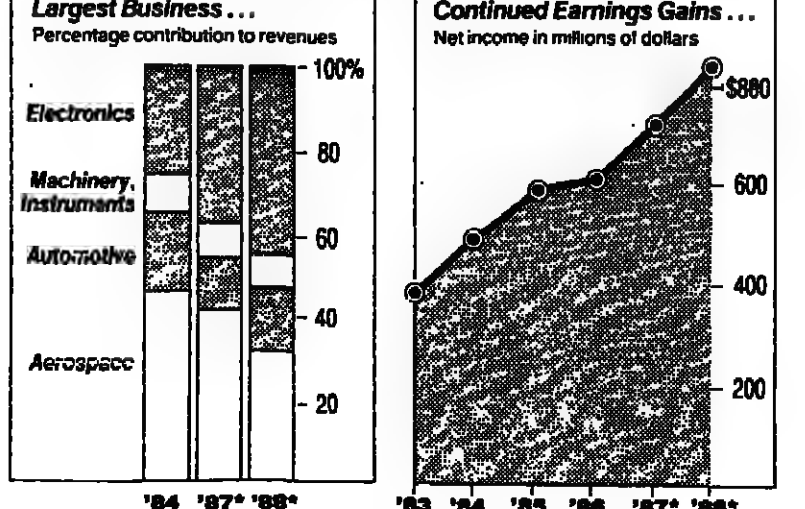
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
292	511	942	96	27
Week	459	129	80	30
Prev. Week				

VOLUME

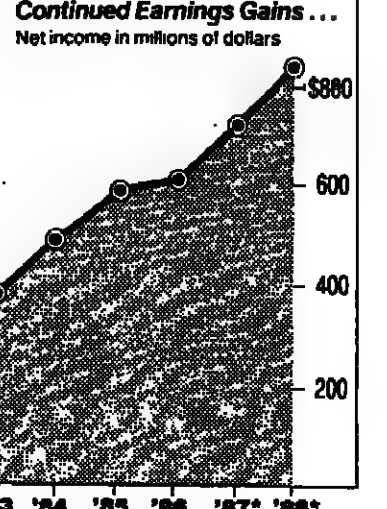
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	69,906,825	1,051,434,165
Same Per. 1986	71,425,215	947,774,574

Rockwell's Strategy Emphasizes Diversification

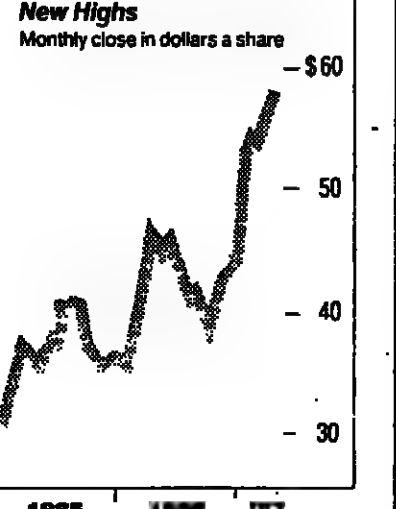
Electronics Will Become Its Largest Business... Percentage contribution to revenues



Wall Street Expects Continued Earnings Gains... Net income in millions of dollars



And Its Stock Is Touching New Highs... Monthly close in dollars a share



Estimated by Goldman, Sachs

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Estimated by Goldman, Sachs

TENNIS

Connors will play in Riklis Classic

By ORI LEWIS
RAMAT HASHARON. — Jimmy Connors, one of the great tennis players of the seventies and eighties, will play at this year's Israel Tennis Centre Riklis classic to be held during the second week of October.

At a press conference held at the ITC in Ramat Hasharon yesterday, Dr. Ian Froman announced that Connors, presently ranked 8 in the world, will head the line-up, which will also include the tournament's winner in the past two years, Brad Gilbert, and last year's runner up, also a two-time winner, Aaron Krickstein.

Connors is not obliged to play in the Ramat Hasharon tourney, whose prize money value has been raised this year from \$99,000 to \$112,000, as his ranking is high enough to necessitate his playing only in the "Super Series" tournament on the Nabisco Grand Prix Circuit. The Ramat Hasharon tournament is a "Regular Series" event, the designation being decided, of course, by the amount of prize-money on offer.

Whatever the consequences of Connors' participation in the tourna-

ment as far as his playing success is concerned, his presence will be a great boost to tennis in Israel. Froman said. Players ranked in the top 15 in the world have done this event the great honour in participating here before. Harold Solomon, Ilie Nastase and Brad Gilbert are players that come to mind, but it is fair to say that no player as glamorous as Connors has as yet participated in a competitive event in Israel.

Connors has played here before, played in an exhibition round-robin at Yad Eliyahu in 1982, together with Shlomo Glickstein, Elliot Teltscher, and Ilie Nastase. But an exhibition is not a tournament.

"It will be fantastic to see Connors, a player, who always gives over and above his maximum on the court, and he will provide a great lesson for our youngsters to see him play," Froman continued.

In a fund-raising exhibition show in the U.S. for the ITC ten years ago, Connors played doubles with Mansdorf and Gilad Bloom, after which he quipped, "I hope I'm not around anymore by the time these kids are 22." Mansdorf is now nearing his 22nd birthday. "It will be interesting



HE'S COMING. — Jimmy Connors in action. (UPI photo)

to see an encounter between Connors and his young Israeli proteges," Froman said.

Nastase has also said that he will play in the tournament, but probably only in the doubles. He has expressed his wish to team-up with a promising Israeli youngster. Nastase has often played doubles with Connors, and, if he opts to play with his old friend again, this should provide a great treat for the fans. In any event, Nastase is such an amusing character, as well as a beautiful stylist, that he will be a joy to watch, irrespective of who his partner will be.

At the press conference it was announced that Dr. Bill Lippy will replace Freddie Krivine as the chairman of the ITC's international board. Rubin Joseph, one of the ITC's founders and the man in charge of construction and development, gave details of plans to build another tennis centre in Tiberias' Shikun Dallet, a poor neighbourhood in the town. The new centre will have six courts and several practice walls. This will be the ITC's ninth venture around the country. Construction will begin in six months time.

Mecir whips complaining McEnroe

DALLAS (AP). — Czechoslovakia's Miloslav Mecir, who had not won a set from John McEnroe in two previous matches, beat him decisively 6-0, 3-6, 6-2, 6-2 yesterday in the WCT final.

Mecir played brilliantly from the baseline, consistently flicking passing shots past McEnroe, a four-time WCT winner. McEnroe had prob-

lems with his serve throughout the match.

In the third set, McEnroe berated chair umpire Gerry Armstrong, and threatened to leave the court.

McEnroe, who had been broken in the first game of the set, complained that Armstrong should have overruled on a tight line call and

began gathering his rackets in a threat to retire from the match.

Armstrong, who issued a code violation warning against McEnroe for a delay during a first-set argument, assessed a penalty point when McEnroe muttered an obscenity. Armstrong said the curse was audible.

McEnroe approached the box where Men's International Professional Tennis Council supervisor Keith Johnson was seated, complaining about Armstrong's point penalty. McEnroe claimed the obscenity was not directed at Armstrong. Johnson left his box, talked to McEnroe, and McEnroe decided to continue play.

Fan violence at Betar game

Post Sports Staff
TEL AVIV. — Betar Jerusalem fans are alleged to have attacked Hapoel Beersheba fans with knives and stones at the end of Saturday's match at the Bloomfield Stadium here. Five arrests have been made.

Tension developed during the match, as news of Bnei Yehuda's goal against Hapoel Tel Aviv in the 45th minute came over the radio, while it seemed that Betar would be held to a goalless draw. Beersheba fans allegedly taunted the Jerusalemites, who responded by pelting the Beersheba fans with oranges.

After the game, it is alleged, the Betar fans attacked Charlie Biton, the father of Shimon Biton, a Beersheba player, and other Beersheba supporters.

GOLF

AUGUSTA, Georgia (AP). — Ben Crenshaw rode a string of four consecutive birdies to a 5-under-par 67 and a tie for the lead after Saturday's third round of the Masters Golf Tournament.

Crenshaw shared the top spot going into the final round with Roger Maltbie.

Greg Norman of Australia, Bernhard Langer of West Germany, Seve Ballesteros of Spain and T.C. Chen of Taiwan all moved within two strokes of the lead. In all, 10 men were within three strokes of the top spot.

And Strange, who lost this tournament with a shot in the pond on No. 15 in 1985, again found that familiar puddle and started a slide that sent him from the lead to a position two shots back. He struggled home with 73.

Lanny Wadkins, with 70, and Mark McCumber, with 69, made up the rest of the top at 215. Nicklaus, the only six-time winner of this major championship, hasn't bettered par in the first three rounds.

Three-run eighth inning as the California Angels beat Oakland 6-3 and sent the winless Athletics to a record-tying fifth consecutive defeat.

Jack Morris pitched a five-hitter and seven different Detroit hitters drove in a run to lead the Tigers to a 7-1 win over the White Sox.

The Anaheim Milkmen Brewers scored eight runs in an inning against Texas for the second consecutive game and won their fifth straight to equal their best start ever, beating the Rangers 8-4.

MOTOR RACING: Frenchman Alain Prost, driving a McLaren, yesterday won the Brazilian Grand Prix, the first race of the 1987 Formula One season.

ENGLISH SOCCER

Coventry in Cup Final

LONDON (Reuters). — Striker Dave Bennett snatched an extra-time winner yesterday as Coventry overcame Second Division Leeds 3-2 to clinch their place in the English Football Association (F.A.) Cup final against Tottenham.

Bennett, who tasted defeat against Tottenham when he played for Manchester City in the 1981 final at Wembley, forced the ball home in the 98th minute after Leeds, who took an early lead, had threatened to

pull off a surprise result.

After being fouled, he ran forward to meet a downed header by Cyrille Regis, who substituted Micky Gynn's free kick and shot home from close range. The goal ended Leeds' resistance and sealed Coventry's first appearance in an F.A. Cup final.

Leeds began the semifinal, played in front of a 51,372 crowd at Hillsborough, Sheffield, in a determined and aggressive fashion and took the lead in the 13th minute when Dave Rennie headed a cross from Kevin Keegan.

Coventry dominated extra time once the outstanding Bennett had put them 3-2 ahead and are likely to provide stern opposition to stylish Tottenham at Wembley on May 16.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Cyprus surprise Poles

WARSAW (Reuters). — Goalkeeper Andreas Charitou defied the much-vaunted Polish attack to earn Cyprus a surprise 0-0 draw in their European soccer championship Group Five tie.

Poland's attacking 3-4-3 line-up enjoyed total outfield supremacy but they were kept at bay by a tenacious Cypriot defence and the home side's long-range shooting failed to trouble the impressive Charitou.

Despite the disappointing result, Poland remains strong candidates for a place in the 1988 finals in West Germany as they have games to hand over both Greece and the Netherlands and lead the section. For Cyprus, it was their first point after four successive defeats.

West German week-end league results: Werder Bremen 4, Eintracht Frankfurt 1; Bochum 5, Hans-Wiesbaden 1; Nürnberg 3, Hamburg 2; Hamburg 1, Waldhof Mannheim 0; Katernberg 1, Bayer Leverkusen 1; Borussia Mönchengladbach 0, Bayern Munich 1; Borussia Dortmund 1, Schalke 0; Fortuna Düsseldorf 1, Stuttgart 0; FC Cologne 1, Bayer Uerdingen 2.

SPORTOTO

Four big winners hauled in NIS 150,000 each by guessing 14 results in this week's Sportoto. The four — two brothers from Petah Tikva, and residents from Kiron, Givatayim and Abu Siman — split this week's

first prize. Second prize went to 148 lucky punters, each of whom guessed 13 correct results and won NIS 1,540. Another 2,275 punters guessed 12 results and won NIS 100 each.

Ministry of Education and Culture
Culture and Arts Department

MILEV — The Israel Centre for Educational Drama and Amateur Theatre, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture

English Drama Festival

at Beit Tarbut Letze'irim, Geula St., Kfar Sava
Under the auspices of the Kfar Sava Municipality.
Cultural Department

Wednesday, April 15, 1987, at 7:30 p.m.
Z.O.A. HOUSE DRAMA CIRCLE: "Opening Night"; scene from "Lovers and Other Strangers"; excerpts from Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor".
J.E.S.T. (JERUSALEM ENGLISH SPEAKING THEATRE): "You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown"

Thursday, April 16, 1987, at 7:30 p.m.
RAMS (RANA ANA MUSICAL SOCIETY): Excerpts from "Bugsy".
SHARON PLAYERS: Act 2 of "Plaza Suite".
JERUSALEM STAGE: "My Mother the General".

Drama and make-up workshops will be held each day at 4:30 p.m. Tickets at the door. Advance bookings: Contact Yanky at 052-452948.

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★ YAACOV BODO ★

in a musical comedy in 2 acts

A MAZI FUN ... A YID!

Tuesday, April 14, 8:15 p.m. Monday, April 20, 8:30 p.m.
Haifa — Auditorium Tel Aviv — Ohel Shem

Wed., Apr. 15, 8:00 p.m. Thur., Apr. 16, 8:00 p.m. Fri., Apr. 17, 8:30 p.m.
Petah Tikva — Shalom Arad — Oran Holon — Hildesheim

Sat., Apr. 18, 8:30 p.m. Sun., Apr. 19, 8:30 p.m. Tue., Apr. 21, 8:00 p.m.
Kiryat Yam — Nitzan Nahariya — Eod. Rishon LeZion

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TODAY'S ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL TV
9:00 Telecast 9:05 Keep Fit 9:15 Surprise Train 9:35 Rehov Sumsum 10:05 Lety (part 2) 10:30 Lety (part 8) 10:50 West of Hester Street 11:45 Favourite Songs 14:00 Telecast 14:05 The Poor Little Rich Girl, Irving Cummings' 1936 musical stars Shirley Temple

ISRAELI TV
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES
16:30 Around the World in 80 Days. Part 1 of Michael Anderson's version of Jules Verne's tale stars David Niven, Candelaria and Shirley MacLaine

ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES
18:30 News roundup
18:32 The Bolshoi Ballet
19:30 News

HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at
20:00 with Mabat Newswear
21:05 Elijah — oratorio by Mendelssohn (part 1). (JSCV Gay, Barini, Bernd Weiss, Mira Zales)
21:05 Beauty Spot — tips on hikes and trips
21:15 The Passover Seder
22:25 Murder with Mirrors. Dick Lowry's 1985 TV movie, based on Agatha Christie's bestseller stars Helen Hayes, Betty Davis and Leo McKern

JORDAN TV (unofficial)
18:30 Cartoons 17:00 French Hour 18:30 News in Hebrew 19:00 News in Arabic 19:30 Ever Decreasing Circles 20:00 Moonlighting 21:00 News in English 21:20 Out on a Limb

MIDDLE EAST TV
13:30 Another Life 14:00 700 Club 14:30 Shape-Up 15:00 Afternoon Movie: Crack 15:30 Muppet Babies 17:00 Super Book 17:30 Muppets 18:00 Happy Days 18:30 Laverne & Shirley 19:00 News 20:00 Magnum P.I. 21:00 Movie: War Wagon 22:00 700 Club

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC
6:02 Morning Melodies 7:09 Handel: Concerto Grosso Op.8 No.11 (English Chamber/Leppard); Laburn: Concerto No.1 for Oboe and Orchestra (Holliger); Mozart: Divertimento K.205, March K.230; Brahms: Piano Concerto No.1 (Ashkenazy); Concertgebouw/Hellink; 9:00 Noon: Petite Symphonie for 9 Wind Instruments; Mendelssohn: Concerto for Violin, Piano and Strings (Y. and H. Menuhin, Menuhin Festival/Menuehin); Beethoven: Octet Op. 103; Saint-Saens: Variations on a Theme by Beethoven for 2 Pianos (Eden, Yarnitz); Shostakovich: Cello Concerto No.1 (Tortelier, Bournemouth/Berglund); Prokofiev: "Prokofiev's Son", ballet music (Moscow Radio/Rochdestrensky); 12:00 Mozart: 3 Pieces for Harpsichord (Berman); Weber: Piano Sonata Op.33 (Berman); Dowland: Danish King's Galliard Prokofiev: Sonata for Violin and Piano (Mintz, Bondarenko); 13:05 Corelli: Concerto Grosso No.10; Mozart: Piano Concerto No.26 "Coronata" (Dorley); 14:00 Martin/Martini; Schumann: Piano Trio Op.63 (Israel Piano Trio); Faure: Suite (St. Martin/Martini) 15:00 Music Appreciation 16:00 Israel Simfonietta under M. Rodan with M. Epstein, flute, M. Laks, piano — Mendelssohn: "Fing's Cave" Overture; Partos: "Violence" for Flute, Piano and Strings; Schubert: Symphony No.3; De Felle: "El Amor Brujo", suite, selec-

tion of works from the International Harp Contest, 1985
18:00 Works by Meyerbeer, Bizet, Debussy and Ravel
19:00 Bloch: 2 Movements from "Jewish Poems"; "Schelomo"; Israel Symphony 20:05 Passover Seder — Kibutz Yegor 21:05 Ben-Zion: "Beata" from Symphony No.1 (IPO/Inbal); Schubert: Mirjam's Steppesong Bernstein: Suite No. 2 from "The Dybbuk" (New York/Bernstein); Beethoven: Symphony No.3; "Eroica" (London Symphony/Jochum) 23:00 "Song of Songs"

RADIO 1st
6:03 Programmes for Olim 7:30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 8:05 Compass — with Benny Hendel 9:05 Information for Listeners 10:05 Morning Pearls 11:05 Hebrew songs 11:30 Folksongs 12:05 Mid-East Medley 13:00 News in English 13:30 News in French 14:00 Children's programmes 15:00 Pessah Eve Programme 16:05 The Haggadah 17:10 Songs of Freedom 18:05 Pessah as seen by Children 19:05 Who Knows One? 19:30 Programmes for Olim 22:05 Anthology of Classical Music, Folksongs and Hebrew songs and readings

RADIO 2nd
6:12 Gymnastics 6:30 Editorial Review 6:53 Green Light — drivers' corner 7:00 This Morning — news magazine 8:05 Making an issue 9:05 Children's programme 10:05 All Shades of the Network 11:30 Safe Journey 12:10 C.K. on "Two 12.00 Midway — news commentary, music 14:05 Magic Moments 15:05 Songs and Readings for Pessah 17:05 Three Passovers 18:05 Story Tellers 19:05 Passover Seder 21:05 The Song of Songs 22:05 The African Story 23:05 Fond Memories 00:10 Hebrew songs

ARMY
6:05 University on the Air 6:30 Open Your Eyes — songs, information 7:07 "707" — with Zvi Shapiro 8:00 Good Morning Israel 9:05 In the Morning 10:05 Coffee Break 11:05 Right Now — with Refi Reshef 13:05 Good Places in the Centre 14:05 It's Not Pessah Yet — with Shlomo Artzi 15:05 It Sounds Better in Yiddish 16:05 Back to a Name 18:05 Holiday songs 20:05 Concert (no details available) 22:05 Marathon with Hani

TUESDAY

TELEVISION

ISRAELI TV
ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES
17:00 News roundup
17:02 Mr. Horn — Western
18:30 Pantomime — documentary
19:10 Foreign language songs
19:30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES begin at
20:00 with Look at the Past — The Exodus from Egypt
20:30 Musical Variations
21:00 Mabat Newswear
21:35 This is Your Life — with Shaike Dan (part 1)
23:00 The Thorn Birds: Part 4 of a 10-part American serial based on the novel by Colleen McCullough, starring Richard Chamberlain and Rachel Ward
23:30 News
JORDAN TV (unofficial)
16:30 Cartoons 17:00 French Hour 18:30 News in Hebrew 19:00 News in Arabic 19:30 You Again 20:10 Yesterday's Dreams 21:00 News in English 21:20 Bergerac

MIDDLE EAST TV
13:00 Another Life 14:00 700 Club 14:30 Shape-Up 15:00 Afternoon Movie: The Hoax 15:30 Muppet Babies 17:00 Flying House 17:30 Muppets 18:00 Star Trek 19:00 News 20:00 The A-Team 21:00 MacGyver 22:00 Airwolf 23:00 700 Club

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC
7:09 Vivaldi: "Spring" from "The Four Seasons"; Tchaikovsky: "Seasons" for Piano; Ben-Haim: "Naim Zamir" Israel; Bernstein: Chichester Psalms 9:00 Mozart: Piano Sonata K.331; Haydn: Piano Sonata in E minor; Gershwin: 3 Preludes for Piano 10:00 Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra — Handel: "Israel in Egypt," oratorio; Beethoven: Piano Sonata No.21, "Waldstein" 12:00 Allan Stanford, piano — Mozart: Sonata No.3; Brahms: Ballades Op.10; Stravinsky: Serenade in A 13:05 Chelvi: "Joyous Marche"; Ben-Haim: Suite (Kibbutzim/Sheriff); Dvorak: "In Realm"; Slingagalia: Romance Op.3; Grieg: Piano Concerto (Lipi, London Symphony/Previn); Hovhannes: Armenian Rhapsody; Khachaturian: Suite from "Gayane" 15:00 Sounds in the Atmosphere of Spring 16:00 From the World's Concert Halls — (1) Young Musicians in Holland — Works by Haydn, Dowland, Byrd, Purcell, Vivaldi, Rutina and Merula (2) Contest of Choirs of the European Broadcast Union 18:00 Mozart: Fantasy K.608 for Organ (Rolfert); Rachmaninoff: Vocalise for Cello and Piano (Schiff, Leonskaya); Stravinsky: Symphony No.1 (Royal Philharmonic/Atlas) 19:00 Excerpts from Operas by Rossini, Ober, Handel and Mozart (Sutherland, Horne, Conrad, London Symphony/Bonyong); Verdi: Excerpts from "Aida" (Cassella, Domingo, Philharmonic/Muti) 20:05 Musical Medley 20:30 From Our Concert Halls — Young Israel Philharmonic Orchestra under Shalom Ronik-Riklis — Mendelssohn: Violin Concerto; Schubert: Symphony No.8, "Unfinished"; Seltzer: "Ode Le'Megilat Ha'atzmaut 22:30 Jazz Classics 23:00 Vivaldi: Concerto for Various Instruments

RADIO 1st
7:06 Programmes for Olim 7:30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 9:05 Innovations in Medical Research 10:05 Radio Story 10:25 Stepping Lightly 12:00 Radio Drama (raped) 13:00 News in English 13:30 News in French 14:00 Children's programmes 15:05 Pessah songs of different Jewish communities 16:05 Meeting of Women Authors 17:10 Compass — selection 18:05 My Exodus (repeated) 19:05 Little Anthology of Poetry 19:30 Programmes for Olim 22:05 Folk dances

RADIO 2nd
7:06 Holiday songs 8:05 Children's programme 9:05 A Matter of Taste — with Haim Kelman 10:05 Humour 11:05 Radio Club 12:05 20 Years of Reunited Jerusalem 13:05 Graphologist Roma Avshalom talks about Zeev Jabotinsky 14:05 Anthology of Poetry 15:05 Denny Kaye 16:05 Songs of Rachel 17:05 Nature and Agriculture after the Winter 18:05 In Memory of Uriel Ofek 19:05 The Yagur Passover Haggadah 20:05 Israeli songs 23:05 Songs of IDF Troupes 22:05 Bible Reading and Programme for the end of the Holiday 23:05 Songs of Harry Belafonte 00:10 Hebrew songs

ARMY
6:05 Holiday Sounds 8:00 Spring songs 9:05 Happy Choir 10:05 The Philharmonic and Hebrew songs 12:05 Interview with Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin 13:05 Shlomo Artzi talks to Rivka Zohar 14:05 Holiday Afternoon 16:05 Classical Music Magazine 17:00 Home to the poet Ya'akov Orland 18:05 Folk songs 20:05 On Jewish Tradition 21:00 Mabat — TV newswear 21:30 University on the Air 22:05 Mobile Studio

CINEMA

For details of the unusually large number of film changes during Pessah week, please refer to the cinema pages in the Friday magazine of April 10.

Only the following two cinemas will be listed here daily during Pessah week because their magazine cinema page schedules contain information only for Friday and Saturday, April 10 and 11:

Belt Agron (Jerusalem): Sleeper 6:15; Pink Floyd — The Wall 8:15; Against All Odds 10; Blazing Saddles 12 midnight.

Israel Cinematheque (Tel Aviv): Desperately Seeking Susan 7:30; Lost in America 8:30.

HAIFA MUSEUM. Exhibitions: The Supreme Court Building, Jerusalem, 1986 competition documentation © Honoré Dourmes, Armand Hammer Collection © News in Antiquities 87 © Gorovoy Donation, Mid-19th Century Photographs of Human Form Van Gogh's Birthday Party (18.4 at 11 a.m.) © Unveiling Pissarro, exhibit of Museum's restoration process © Ancient Masks and Rattles, special Purim and general exhibit, from Neolithic to Roman Arts Powers Movement in Italy. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur, 10-2; Sat, 11-2; 7-10; Fri, closed. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Exhibition: Erich Mendelsohn's Roman Arts Powers Movement in Italy. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur, 10-2; Sat, 11-2; 7-10; Fri, closed. Passover week hours: Mon, closed, Tue, 7-10, Wed, Thur, 10-2, 5-9.

Conducted Tours
AMIT WOMEN (formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.

TEL AVIV Museums
TEL AVIV MUSEUM. New Exhibitions: Alexander Archipenko, A Centennial Tribute, 50 sculptures, sculpture-paintings and drawings. © Oskar Kokoschka, 1886-1980. Selection of Prints and Albums. Trends in Geometric Abstract Art © Edvard Munch, prints: Death, Love and Anxiety © Special Exhibit: Erich Mendelsohn's Roman Arts Powers Movement in Italy. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur, 10-2; Sat, 11-2; 7-10; Fri, closed. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Exhibition: Erich Mendelsohn's Roman Arts Powers Movement in Italy. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur, 10-2; Sat, 11-2; 7-10; Fri, closed. Passover week hours: Mon, closed, Tue, 7-10, Wed, Thur, 10-2, 5-9.

HAIFA Museums
HAIFA MUSEUM. 26 Shabbat Lev. St. Tel. 04-523255. Exhibitions: Modern Art: Facing the Mirror — The Israeli Caricature, Now, Ancient Art — Coins of Akko in Ancient Times. Music & Ethnology: world paper cuts. Open Sun-Thur, 8 Sat, 10-1; Tues, Thur, & Sat, also 6. Tickets also admits to National Maritime, Japanese and Prehistoric Museums. WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-640840.

WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS 8.85 per line, including VAT. Insertion every day of the month costs NIS 177.10 per line, including VAT, per month.

JERUSALEM

MUSEUMS
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Ashdod is a prime example of a successful workers' city which has overcome the difficulties of expansion by developing a strong industrial infrastructure and the largest port in the country. This year marks the 30th anniversary of the establishment of Ashdod, and the celebrations are giving Mayor Arye Azulai a chance to show off the town's considerable accomplishments.

Ashdod residents are proud of what they have done, but the achievements they have reached so far are not enough. Plans are already in the making to expand tourism, absorption, industry and the population.

"This is a city where 30 years ago, 22 families were literally thrown on the beach," says Azulai. "It is the realization of the Zionist vision that actually surpassed the dream."

Those 22 Moroccan families ever

Coastal boom

A community that began with 22 families thrown on a beach has grown into a successful city of 80,000, Rafi Gaon reports.

since have laid the foundations of a town that has been absorbing new immigrants from all over the world. Most of today's population are of Moroccan, Russian, Georgian and Romanian descent. Successful integration is not only a thing of the past, says Azulai, Ashdod has plans for absorbing thousands more in the years ahead. "I have no doubt that there will be immigrants from the Soviet Union who will decide to build their homes here. Ashdod will

not be sorry if they do."

Before he was elected mayor, Azulai was the principal of a local high school and he regards education as a key issue for the city. On every list of its achievements, education is stressed. The 22,000 pupils in the Ashdod school district attend 130 kindergartens, 30 elementary schools and five high schools. There is also an Ort school, and a yeshiva high school. The city has a technological college and several adult education centres and plans to build a people's university.

Culturally, Ashdod can compete with any other big town in the country. It has seven community centres, (more than any other town), two stadiums and a multitude of social and cultural events that give Ashdod a lively atmosphere that is very appealing to its 80,000 inhabitants.

TOURISM is Azulai's next major project. "The finance minister has promised to make Ashdod an 'A'



Mayor Arye Azulai

development zone for tourism."

On the planning board is a marina. It will be constructed with the help of

a well-known Italian company, which has already sent representatives to check out possibilities. The development of "downtown Ashdod" has already begun with the paving of an access road to the area. This project, which will include a large office building paid for partly by a German investor, a Yad LeChaim structure with an amphitheatre to seat 400, and a concert-hall-cum-theatre, will cost a total of \$1.8 million. The latter will be financed by donations from residents and from the schools where each student is expected to contribute NIS 10 for the project.

Industrial expansion is also going on. Recently, the new Ram Industries factory was built, providing jobs for 100 workers.

The future looks very promising for Ashdod.

"By the year 2000, the city will

have 130,000 residents," the mayor predicts. "Seven of the empty quarters will be populated (making a total of 16), the downtown area, the Marina, new hotels, and an American village will have been constructed. A new hospital, with 600 beds, will be ready, and the port will be expanded to the north to provide for unloading coal."

"The Lachish park will be laid out on an area of over 750 dunams," Azulai concludes.

This was one of the last articles penned by Rafi Gaon, who died during a heart operation at Hadassah hospital on Thursday night at 58.

Gaon had covered the south of the country for Al Hamishmar from 1961. For a time he was also correspondent for The Jerusalem Post.

Born in Sarajevo, he reached this country in 1944. After several years at Kibbutz Gvulot, he settled in Ashkelon in 1960.

City rises from sand

Yitzhak Oked

K.B.A. TOWN Builders Group or as it is more commonly known, Ashdod Company, not only planned Ashdod from the sand dunes but also built many of the projects that turned it into a thriving port-city.

Like other building companies, it made mistakes along the way and drew quite a lot of fire from both inside and outside Ashdod. Nevertheless, with over 30 years experience behind it, the company is reportedly thriving.

Yoram Katsir, the general manager told The Jerusalem Post that 1987 finds the company very much alive and doing what it does best - developing new areas in Ashdod, both residential and industrial. People prefer to do business with them, Katsir says because of the company's professional and financial standing. They know that the company is sound and this enhances their confidence.

The Ashdod company was established in 1956 by a group of investors who persuaded the government to allow them to develop a modern town out of the sand dunes for a population of about 300,000.

The group was headed by Oved Ben Ami, who had good credentials and a good track record: he had developed another town out of the sand dunes - Netanya - and he had been its mayor for many years. In May 1956, a contract was signed with then minister of finance, Levi Eshkol who represented the government. In 1964, the government became a partner in the company but sold its shares some years later.

The first thing the company did was translate the envisioned town into engineering plans and blueprints, enlarging the original scope somewhat. In 1957, building started.

According to the agreement signed with the government, the company was to plan a town for over 300,000 people, down to the last detail, and prepare all the groundwork. This included building the infrastructure, levelling sand dunes, laying roads and sidewalks, drilling

wells, establishing a water supply, sewage system and even ponds and gardens.

In return the company was allowed to purchase one quarter of all the land of Ashdod at a special price; the remaining three quarters stayed in government hands.

By 1971 the company had met all its obligations to the government. But it remained in Ashdod, developing new areas.

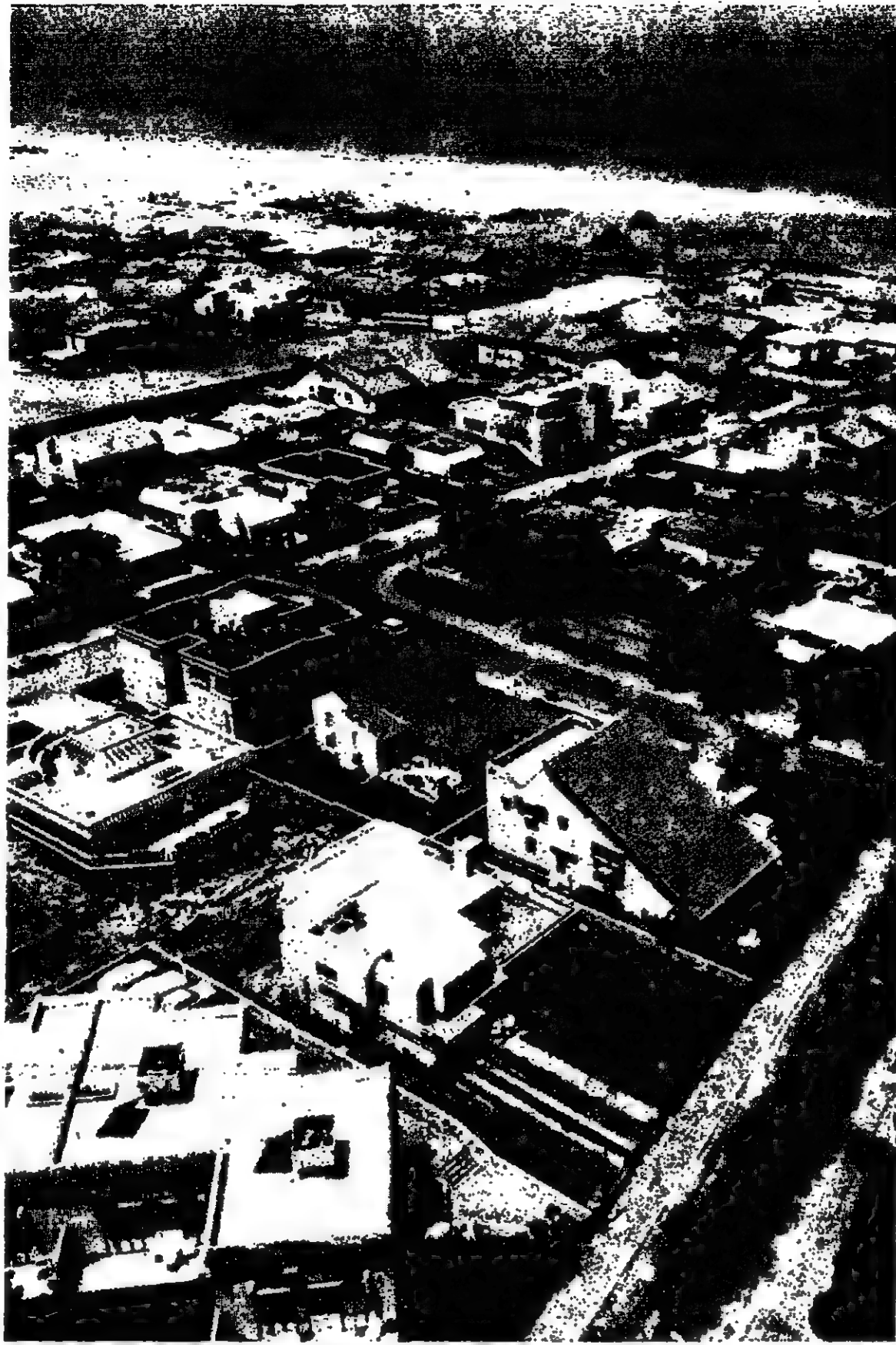
WITH 80,000 residents today, Ashdod is still far away from the planned town of over 300,000. Katsir attributes the gap to the drop in immigration in recent years. He is optimistic about the reports of a possible wave of immigration from Russia, and possibly also from South America and South Africa. He hopes, nonetheless, that by the turn of the century there will be at least 130,000 residents in Ashdod.

Pointing to the biblical saying that prophets are not honoured in their countries, Katsir says this seems to be the fate of the Ashdod company. While its plans for Ashdod have been lauded by professionals in various parts of the world, with some even attempting to emulate the Ashdod model, in Israel the company has received little recognition.

He believes that a large part of Ashdod's success - as compared with other development towns established at about the same time - is due to the fact that the Ashdod company manage to find the perfect blend between private and government enterprise.

Regarding Ashdod's varied population and successful melting pot, he believes several factors have come into play: the abundance of job opportunities from port work to highly technical occupations and commerce; the town's proximity to Tel Aviv; and most important, the educational system. From the start Ashdod has taken a revolutionary approach in education and many of the most innovative educational methods in Israel were first tried out in Ashdod. This highly developed educational approach, he feels, did

(Continued on facing page)



Increasing tourism has become one of Ashdod's key objectives.



Yehuda Ben-Harosh

Forces behind 'Red Ashdod'

Bryan Silverberg

ASHDOD IS a city where the proletariat thrives and the local labour council has power to influence policy. Not only has it reached acclaim by being the largest port in the country, but it has also won the title "Red Ashdod."

About 85 per cent of the population belongs to the Histadrut which is looked upon as a place to turn to in times of trouble, and not only trouble concerning working conditions, salaries, etc. Recently, the labour council proved influential in assisting parents of school-children to arrange a demonstration against a levy on education. Following the demonstration, the levy was cancelled.

"We have a good feeling that we helped with that," says Yehuda Ben-Harosh, secretary of the Ashdod Labour Council. "It is just one example of how we help here."

Ashdod's personality is the result of 30 years of hard labour. Waves of immigration, rapid industrial development, and the well-known port have caused factories to grow on top of each other as the city expands.

Today Ashdod has an experienced working population, and is lucky to have a very low unemployment rate. But Ben-Harosh is worried about the future.

"Industrial development has stopped," he says. "Sure, here and there new factories are built, production lines are expanded or replaced by

more sophisticated equipment, but there is no challenge for our youth. After studying they will have difficulty finding work places worthy of their talents."


Ben-Harosh is on the look-out for more high-technology factories in Ashdod. "High-tech factories bring money into the country and pride to the employees working there," he says.

According to Ben-Harosh, Ashdod is blessed with a phenomenon whereby children work where their fathers have worked, giving a sense of continuity to the running of the city's factories. The port, electric company, Rogosin Enterprises Ltd., Jaffo-Mor Ltd., and others have maintained their positions, partly as a result of this phenomenon.

In addition to improving community and social areas of Ashdod, the council plans to highlight the establishment of new factories and housing in the Kupat Holim.

"One project that I personally took on is the advancement of the Hapoel Ashdod football team," says Ben-Harosh. "Currently they are the leaders of their league, and we hope to bring them up to national league standard."

After 10 years as secretary of the Ashdod Labour Council, Ben-Harosh has been offered a tempting position with Shimshon Alliance. "I was offered the job of director of manpower, but in the end I told them that I am staying in this chair until the next announcement."



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Arye Azulai
Mayor

Abaron Mashliahvili
Company Manager

Histadrut General Labour Federation
Ashdod Labour Council

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 To the First Families.
 To the City's Residents, Sons and Builders

Congratulations on the anniversary of the founding of our city..

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 The realization of Ben-Gurion's dream.
 We have transformed it into a splendid port and industrial city.

Yehuda Ben Harush
Labour Council Secretary
Staff and Secretariat

Dr. Kodesh: the city's holy man

Yitzhak Oked

SHLOMO KODESH is something special on the Ashdod scene. He is a giant of a man despite the fact that he is only 1.54 metres tall, and is very young and dynamic despite being 83 years old.

He has only lived in Ashdod for 14 years but during this relatively short time he has made a big impact on the town teaching hundreds of older residents and thus greatly improving the quality of life of this town. This year in appreciation for his activities, Dr. Kodesh received the special award of "Yakir Ashdod," presented to outstanding residents for special accomplishments.

Kodesh (holy in Hebrew) is in charge of adult educational courses taught in the evening. "You journalists can write all you want about Yehoshua Peretz and all the other firebrands and negative people in Ashdod, but the truth is that it is here at these classes here that you really meet the 'salt of the earth,' the real residents of Ashdod. We offer different classes, from philosophy to Hebrew reading and writing."

"The biggest thing is what happens outside of the classes, specially during the breaks. There these people mix over a cup of tea and come to realize how much they have in common. This is what contributes into making these people proud of their city. Many community projects were developed over tea between classes here."

He was born in Lithuania and made aliya 54 years ago when he was nearly 30. For about 25 years, he was a teacher or as he prefers to call himself a *melamed*. "Once you get bitten by the *melamed* bug you can't get it out of your system."

Then he was transferred to Jerusalem and for 20 years he was in charge of the Education Ministry's adult education programmes which included teaching new immigrants to read and write Hebrew. For some, this was the first time in their life that they learned to read and write in any language.


Then he retired, or so he thought. He was not allowed to bask in the sun for too long before he was requested to go to New York for a short period to teach Hebrew. Completing his mission he returned but not before making an agreement with the president of Touro College to establish a sister college in Israel.

"I proposed Ashdod, because I was planning to settle there when I got back, since my daughter was living there."

"Well, I went to live in Ashdod and started running around trying to organize this sister college. Then the Yom Kippur War broke out. With most of the adult population in military service or contributing in one way or other to the war effort, it was simply impossible to talk about organizing a college."

After the war, the sister college project was dropped due to lack of funds. But Dr. Kodesh is not the

(Continued on facing page)



ASHDOD MUNICIPALITY COUNCIL AND STAFF

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 And all the People of Israel*

On the City's 30th Anniversary

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Arye Azulai
Mayor

Ashdod's Georgian character

Yitzhak Oked

Jerusalem Post Reporter

SOME SIX months before Jimmy Carter was elected president of the United States, many Americans still didn't know who he was, prompting the famous question, "Jimmy who?"

Similarly, the name Ephraim Gur might cause many Israelis to ask "Ephraim who?" His name may well be worth remembering for if things go according to plan it could soon become a household word.

Gur, the 32-year-old Georgian immigrant and deputy-mayor of Ashdod, was recently elected with a large majority to the Labour's Party national bureau, to represent a number of towns and villages in the south of Israel. Gur makes no bones about his ambitions: "I plan to be a member of the next Knesset, the first representative of Georgian Jewry and of the modern wave of immigration from Russia."

Gur is a product of Ashdod, a town that he is very proud of. Ashdod has absorbed immigrants from nearly all the waves that have swept this country in the last 30 years, one of the most recent being that of Georgian Jewry. Today the Georgians constitute some 25 per cent of Ashdod's population of 80,000.

The Georgians are known as sharp businessmen and dependable workers, but they have not really made a dent in the Israeli political scene. This is where Gur stands out. He seems to be a born politician, especially suited to the Israeli scene. He learned the tricks of the trade from his predecessor and tries to improve on them.

GUR ARRIVED in Israel in 1972 at the age of 18. One of the first things he did was shorten his name from Gurilashvili to Gur. He got married, joined the Labour Party and started working as a stevedore at Ashdod port. In the evenings he taught himself Hebrew. Today he speaks and writes almost like a sabra.

Half a year later he did his military service preferring an artillery field unit to a softer job. His army service was shorter than that of his peers because he was married and already a father by this time.

By 1975 he was an employee of the Ashdod municipality, in charge of the social absorption of new immigrants. That same year he won his first political election, as the local chairman of the Russian Olim Association.

This paved the way for him to take over the cultural and absorption matters at the local Labour council.



Ephraim Gur

year later. In 1977, he was elected secretary of the local Labour Party. Deputy-minister of Agriculture Avraham Katz-Oz, who in 1977 was head of the organization department, put Gur in charge of his department's southern district.

In 1979 he decided to leave politics to improve his financial base. Again by studying at night, he received an insurance licence and opened a business that is still active, though Gur is not involved in its day-to-day affairs.

During this period he also tried his luck as a newspaper publisher, putting out the Georgian *Samshovlo*, which means homeland. It lasted only two years for lack of readers and advertisers. He continued with his insurance business, and branched out in imports and exports as well.

IN 1983 HE could no longer resist the call of politics and he formed a local party for the municipal elections called *Achdut Lema'an Ashdod*.

His party won 3,500 votes, assuring him two of the 17 municipal council seats. These two seats put him in the slot of deputy-mayor of Ashdod. He is in charge of the social department, the youth, culture and sports centres and adult education. He also chairs a number of municipal committees.

He was one of the prime movers behind the establishment of Georgian Jewry Day which first took place during the intermediate days of Succot in 1984. It was attended by some 80,000 people, including about half the government, representing all the political parties. He also organized a world congress of Georgian Jews.

Speaking of the difficulties his fellow Georgians had encountered as new immigrants, he says that the

main problem has been a lack of communication. "The new immigrants did not speak any of the main languages spoken in Israel such as Hebrew, English, French, Spanish or Yiddish. Nor did the Israelis know Georgian."

This lack of communication, Gur says, is what drove him to teach himself Hebrew so that he could become a bridge, as it were, between the Israelis and his people. "From there to politics, the road was very short."

He admits that Ashdod's special human climate, however, probably helped the most. "Nearly all the residents were relatively new immigrants themselves. Thus they were more receptive to new immigrants, and were tolerant, despite the cultural differences."

He has harsh words for the part the media played during the difficult period of Georgian absorption, emphasizing only the negative members of the group. He has no doubt that other ethnic groups have neither more nor less undesirable characters.

ASHDOD'S pleasant atmosphere, he says, and its ample job opportunities, whether at the port or at various plants, is what attracted many Georgian immigrants. The job situation created a minor revolution among the Georgians. Before coming to Israel, Georgian women had never gone out to work. Here, financial needs and the availability of jobs nearby lured many women into the employment market.

Now, over 15 years since the first

Georgians arrived in Ashdod, other minor or major revolutions are being felt. During the last couple of years, more and more Georgians have moved from where they first settled, ghetto-like to other parts of town, integrating with the rest of the population. "The first weddings are taking place between Georgian Jews and Jews from other countries, including Israeli-born. As this trend grows, it will be the best proof that the Georgians have fully integrated into Israeli society."

Another change is that an increasing number of Georgian Jewish girls, who are religious, are volunteering for national service and a few are even doing regular military service. Among the boys, more and more are volunteering for elite units and becoming officers.

Concluding the interview, Gur speaks as the deputy-mayor of Ashdod. He points out that Ashdod is a very quiet and peaceful town: there is full co-existence here, which you do not find in many other towns in Israel. We have people from so many different countries and there is no strife. There are over 120 synagogues and a relatively high proportion of religious people, but there is no confrontation between the religious and the secular as there is in other towns.

With a "political" eye for the future, Gur says that Ashdod is the ideal place to absorb the thousands of new immigrants expected from Russia. "We have room, jobs and people who speak their language and can help during the first difficult period of adjustment."



Ashdod represents a true Israeli melting pot.

City's holy man

(Continued from facing page)

type of person to give up. He became a one man missionary for a school for adults. "I explained to whoever was willing to listen that what Ashdod really needed was a comprehensive school for adults. I told them that if a comprehensive school for small children was good for integration, then a school should be perfect for integrating the adults."

His enthusiasm was contagious and the school was firmly established. It may not be a college, but adults study a large variety of subjects. After over 10 years it has lived up to all of Kodesh's expectations. He sums it up in two words: "It works."

WAS ASHDOD not the wrong site for this project? Even though he has been living there only 14 years, he feels like a native and is even insulted by my question. He answers with a question, "Do you know what Ashdod really is?" He doesn't even wait for my answer. "I'll tell you what Ashdod is - it is the realization of Herzl's book *Altneuland*, with seashores, Philistine land and a mixture of Jews from different cultures."

"Ashdod has everything going for it. As an educator, I can tell you that it has an excellent education system. And there is plenty of work available in Ashdod on all levels, from plain stevedores at the port to the most sophisticated electronic engineering at Elta."

"I know that you journalists are looking for ugly things. Well we have them too. Not all of the Jews in Israel are nice, but so what?"

"Maybe that is the real miracle of Ashdod, that despite the problems, over 80,000 Jews can live next to each other in peace. Integration works here."

He breaks into a youthful laughter. "I invite you to come to one of the high schools in town during a free period. Take a peak at the boys and girls there. Most likely you will see a Georgian boy kissing a Moroccan girl. If that isn't Zionism then what is?"

What does Ashdod need? "I think that what we really need is what is needed all over Israel, not only in the municipal level but in the national level too - good leaders. But being a realist, I'm afraid that this is comparable to asking the Messiah to come now."

After 30 years, Ashdod is, despite its blemishes and various "childhood" illnesses it has had, such as the violent port strikes, now on the road to success?

"I believe that Ashdod is a success story, there is no question about it. I do not have statistics but I believe that this is one town in which not many young people leave. I would sum up this article for you by saying that Ashdod is the town where Zionism has triumphed."

Up from the sand

(Continued from facing page) much for the development of Ashdod.

AS TO THE future, Katsir believes that Ashdod is lucky to have the Ashdod company behind it. "I think that the famous American saying, that what is good for General Motors is good for America applies here too - what is good for the Ashdod company is good for Ashdod."

Asked if he wasn't overstating the case, Katsir was quick to reply that he was perhaps being too humble.

"In any ordinary city in Israel with ordinary commercial building companies, the companies do not usually care who their buyers are, as long as they make a profit. Here we have a responsibility. The Ashdod Company plans to continue to do business in Ashdod today, tomorrow in another ten years, and tens of years after that. So when we try to persuade a firm to come to Ashdod, the first thing we look for is how many new jobs it will bring. We want a firm that will bring more people and generate more business in Ashdod."

With respect to the anticipated

immigration of Soviet Jews, Katsir says: "I believe that Ashdod and our company are in a unique position. We simply have a head start. In terms of the company, that means the Ashdod Company has building land available, with all the permits in hand. Theoretically, by receiving the green light from the government, we could start building houses tomorrow morning. Any other building company or city would need at least one year to get to this stage. This could be called the hardware, to borrow some computer jargon."

Then there's software, meaning the actual absorption of new immigrants in Ashdod. Again, I believe, Ashdod has all its competitors beaten even before the match starts. Simply because Ashdod already has an excellent track record in the absorption of immigrants from different countries. But our trump card is the fact that we have absorbed an overwhelming number of immigrants from Russia. These immigrants are now veterans. They know the language and mentality of the Russians and are in the best position to make the new immigrants feel completely at home in Ashdod."



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HILA ADU/GRAPHITY

Tourists here in droves for holiday

Flights have been added and hotels are overbooked, but industry executives are entirely confident it all beckons a booming summer

By KEN SCHACHTER
and GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Staff

Airlines are juggling planes and overbooked hotels are juggling guests in an effort to cope with an "amazing" influx of group tours that officials hope will ignite Israel's slumping tourism industry.

First-quarter tourism figures this year are running about 3 per cent above 1985's record-setting pace. Compounded by a spurt during the Passah-Easter period and an unusually low level of cancellations, the crunch has confounded even veteran tourism observers.

"Generally, a certain percentage of group reservations are cancelled and some others are reduced," said Leslie Adler, vice president of the Israel Hotel Association. "[This year] something strange has happened. For the first time in my memory, against all previous experience, all the groups are coming and many are larger than anticipated. It's really amazing. This was completely unexpected."

Adler, who is general manager of the Basel Group Hotels, said his chain is coping by placing the overflow in similar or better lodgings than those booked.

But tour operators are worried that even those guests who manage to spend their vacations in the rooms they reserved may find a diminished level of service.

Rafi Shelef, director of Melia Israel's tourism division, said his company has noted a sharp upsurge in travellers from Europe, putting a heavy burden on the four-star hotels they traditionally frequent.

"Hotels are packed," he said, "which leads to concern where we worry about what kind of service tourists can expect. This is the kind of thing tour operators worry about. We want them to go home with a positive attitude. It's a good situation, but tremendously nerve-racking."

Airlines are scrambling to meet the heavy demand from Europe by adding extra flights and flying larger



A Seder table awaits guests at Jerusalem's King Solomon Hotel.

(K. Weiss)

planes. El Al, Lufthansa and British Airways have all added flights. In recent weeks, Lufthansa has increased its total capacity by one-third, to about 1,800 seats, by adding two flights and substituting roomier A-310s or A-300s for the Boeing 727s usually used on flights between West Germany and Israel.

Even at that, Adler said, demand is so heavy that some prospective travellers are being turned away. "Flights are chock-a-block full," he said. "Theoretically, if there had been more flights, more people would be coming. At the moment, the demand is higher than the airlines' ability to accommodate it."

What all this adds up to for tourism officials is a possible return to revenue levels of 1985, when tourism generated \$1.109 billion, compared with \$970 million last year.

"I hope we can get back to \$1.1b.," said Raphael Bar-On, director of research and statistics for the Ministry of Tourism.

"We can say so far that we've seen a recovery of U.S. and Canadian tourism, but it's still well below what it was in the past," he said. "In Europe, we've seen a large demand in winter and we're hoping it carries over to summer and the following winter."

For the first two months of this year, U.S. tourism, excluding cruises, increased 6 per cent. This compares with a 22 per cent rise for European vacationers, with a large portion of that generated by 23,200

West Germany visitors, an increase of 30 per cent versus the previous year.

Although the news is heartening, Bar-On takes a cautious view of sustaining this year's pace.

"It all depends on the continuation of the present freedom from international terrorism," he said. "Unfortunately, in our experience, there is no normal year for Israeli tourism."

"We would like to be able to celebrate Passah all year round and see the hotels as packed as they are now," Israeli Hotel Association Director-General Moshe Amir told *The Jerusalem Post*. "But we have to think ahead to what may be confronting us after Passah."

Aside from the relative quiet on the terrorism front, Europeans have been attracted by the price of Israeli vacations. Tour prices are quoted in U.S. dollars, which have weakened in recent months in relation to European currencies.

But for this reason, while tourism from America has increased, it has not yet returned to 1985 levels, says Amir, the weakened dollar has clamped the overseas travel plans of Americans—in particular those making European stopovers between the U.S. and Israel.

Shelef said that overbooking levels vary from hotel to hotel.

"This is a fairly accepted practice," he said, "not only in Israel, but in many parts of the world. But with the upsurge in tourism, what would

seem a conservative practice seems very adventurous, especially in the four-star hotels."

Ronni Fortis, director of marketing for the five-star Tel Aviv Hilton, said his hotel took a conservative line and stopped taking reservations for the holidays in time.

"We didn't take any unnecessary risks," he said. "We assumed everybody would come."

But not all hotel guests are so fortunate. Tourism officials still talk about the time in 1972 when an overbooked Jerusalem hotel bumped an unlucky group to comparable accommodations—in Beersheba.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Mount of Olives, 287400; Balaam, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.
Tel Aviv: Arlosoroff, 78 Arlosoroff, 237746; Balfour-Kupat Holim Maacabi, 2 Balfour, 229655.
Ramat Hasharon: Kupat Holim, Rehov Harshut, Hod Hasharon.
Netanya: Hanassi, 36 Sderot Weizmann, 22955.
Kiryat Haim: Herman, Simat Modlin, Kiryat Motzkin, 715136.
Haifa: Hanita, 22 Hanita, 231905.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, E.N.T.), Hadassah Scopes (internal), Migav Ledeck (obstetrics), Hadassah Ein Kerem (surgery, orthopedics), Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology).
Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics, internal, surgery).
Netanya: Laniado

Tuesday, April 14

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: (day) Kupat Holim Clalit, Romem, 523181; (evening) Aza, 15 De-Rach, 632626; Balaam, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.
Tel Aviv: (day and evening) Shahar (Brandeis), 27 Pinkas, 441449; Bess, 66 Brandeis, 227329.
Ramat Hasharon: Shaare Zedek (day/evening), 47 Rothschild, Kfar Sava; (evening) Kupat Holim Shual, A. Yaffe, Ramat Hasharon.
Netanya: Hamegen, 13 Sderot Weizman, 22955.
Kiryat Haim: Herman, Simat Modlin, Kiryat Motzkin, 715136.
Haifa: Hanita, 22 Hanita, 231905.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Hadassah Ein Kerem (pediatrics, E.N.T.), Bikur Holim (internal, obstetrics), Shaare Zedek (surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology).
Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).
Netanya: Laniado

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Carmiel *988555 Netanya *23333
Dan Region *781111 Patah Tikva *823111
Elit 7223 Rehovot *481333
Hadera 22333 Rishon LeZion 92233
Haifa *512233 Safed 30333
Hertzel 36333 Tel Aviv *240111
Holon 503133 Tiberias *30111

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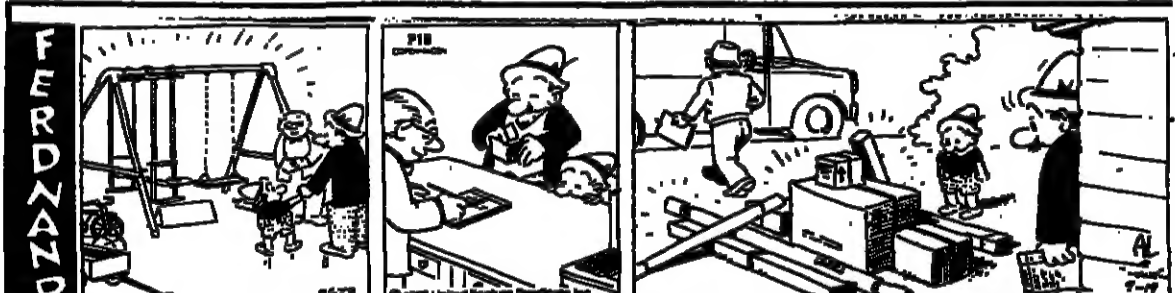
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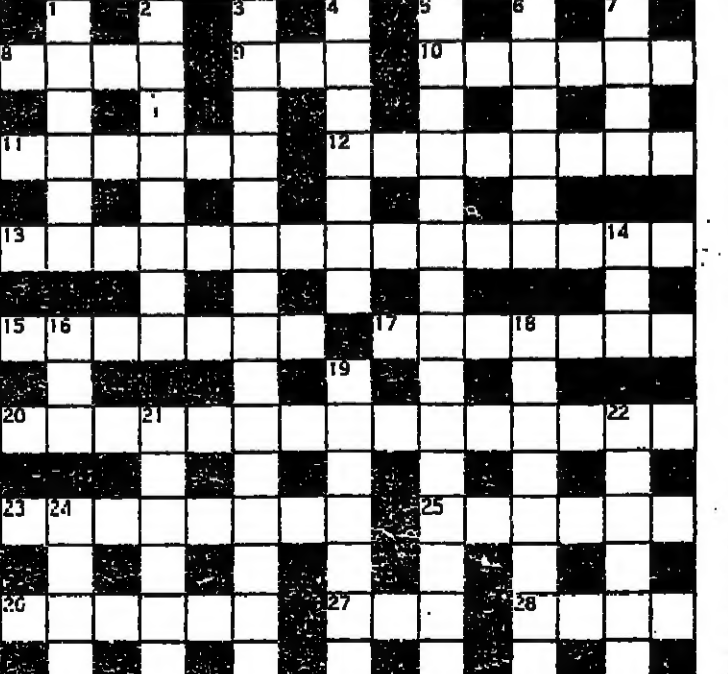
CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 8 The case for a sewer? (4)
- 9 A custom put to some purpose (3)
- 10 High court judge at Wimbledon (6)
- 11 Physical training instructor? (6)
- 12 Witty cross-talk (8)
- 13 Deprived of the advantages of superior birth? (15)
- 15 Some haven to which no-one returns (7)
- 17 A detour wrongly announced (1,3)
- 20 Location of a payment that is rightly entered? (2,3,6,4)

DOWN

- 23 Variety of 12 that should ultimately bear fruit (4-4)
- 25 Fabulous young victim of soaring ambition (6)
- 26 Amazingly solid East German opera heroine (6)
- 27 A turn gone by (3)
- 28 Not a full-size horse pistol (4)
- 1 Get at a can on the outside (6)
- 2 Evil turn makes malignant (8)
- 3 Stop on the way to see a Bizet musical drama? (4-2,3,6)
- 4 Type of ground to soak up the moisture (7)

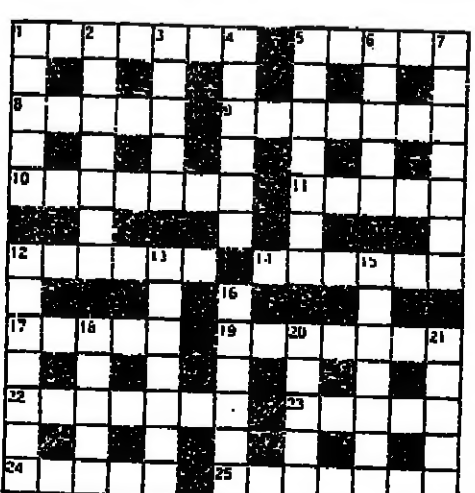


Yesterday's Solution



QUICK SOLUTION

- ACROSS: 1. Waiter, 4. Second, 7. Infantile, 9. Lead, 10. Lair, 11. Sheet, 13. Treaty, 14. Easels, 15. Estant, 17. Tennis, 19. Growns, 20. Hood, 22. Ashy, 23. Nauseous, 24. Eulogy, 25. Edible. DOWN: 1. Waller, 2. Tend, 3. Really, 4. Settee, 5. Call, 6. Debris, 7. Intention, 8. Eagerness, 11. Sting, 12. Taken, 15. Easels, 16. Trashy, 17. Twelve, 18. Stryte, 21. Dodo, 22. Asti.



QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Pupil
- 3 Sea vessels
- 5 Peace emblem
- 9 Cradle-song
- 10 Haller
- 11 Subject
- 12 Ingenious device
- 14 Beautiful youth
- 17 Science of reasoning
- 19 Egg-white
- 22 Side by side
- 23 Follow
- 24 Haude
- 25 Opposes

DOWN

- 1 Mar
- 2 Raised aloft
- 3 Vassal
- 4 Passes on
- 5 Greeted
- 6 Furious
- 7 Guidly
- 12 Chivalrous
- 13 Hewich
- 15 Retribution
- 16 Substance
- 18 Furze
- 20 Consecrate
- 21 Wants

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BESTSELLERS FROM ISRAEL

MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Sell in May and take a chance

One of the oldest and best-respected traditions in the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is that the limited amount of trading on the intermediate days of Pesach is conducted in a positive, upward-trending atmosphere. It doesn't always happen but, like most stock market traditions, it happens more often than not.

The sequel to the Pesach boom, which traditionally forms part of an April rally, is a reaction in May. This is a well known pattern in many stock markets, giving rise, among other things, to the dictum of the London stock market to "sell in May and go away" for the summer. New York, too, has a clear historical pattern whereby in most years prices on June 30 are lower than they were on April 30.

None of these things are immutable, of course. Their rationale has to do primarily with flows of funds, stemming from tax considerations and other factors. In Israel this year the regular pattern of fund flows has been totally distorted by the switching of the corporate tax year from March 31 to December 31.

That has not prevented April from being a very strong month in the share market to date, and the profit-taking of Thursday and yesterday should be seen in the context of the sharp rises that preceded them. But the strength of the market has been evident for the past five or six months, so it is difficult to pin down specific seasonal factors as influencing the direction of trading more than the underlying fundamentals.

This brings us to the most important issue facing investors. Over and above the likely positive trend of the next few days, or the next week or two, how do the coming three to six months shape up?

The political uncertainties only complicate an already difficult situation. Six months ago it seemed fairly easy to suggest - as we did - that if the government went ahead with the capital market reform, the bond and share markets would react very positively. Now with the easiest pickings behind us, the crystal ball is more clouded.

The negative factors may be easily listed: Political discords making strong government and firm policy more difficult, and early elections more likely; a swelling, rather than a shrinking budget deficit, coupled with a looming \$1.2 billion bank share redemption in October, all of which force the government to borrow more, not less; a flood of new issues in both the share and bond markets which will soak up growing quantities of investor funds; and the simple fact that the market has doubled since last summer.

Nevertheless, and despite all these weighty considerations, we would venture to guess that prices will be higher on Erev Rosh Hashana in late September, than they are today. There may be shakeouts on the way - although there hasn't been a single major correction so far in this bull market - but the improving corporate picture, and the huge amount of liquidity available to individual and institutional investors alike, will be enough to keep the momentum of advance going.

In terms of specific sectors, we would stick our necks out even further and repeat the same things we said six months ago, when looking ahead to the current year of 5747. The turnaround plays in high technology and in real estate are still the places to look for more gains.

The main difference between now and last year is the price level. The non-stop rises mean that the risk element is now vastly greater. Anyone not yet participating in the boom should be aware, before entering, that the big profits and relatively low-risk plays have already been made.

Weaker dollar boosts Israel's foreign debt

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

Israel's foreign debt grew by \$824 million during 1986 to reach \$24.78 billion by the end of the year, the Bank of Israel announced yesterday.

However, most of the increase, some \$600m., was due to the fall in the value of the dollar relative to European currencies and did not reflect a stream of new loans.

The figures published yesterday showed that the country's net debt, defined as international obligations minus foreign currency assets, dropped by \$282m. in 1986, to \$19b. That

was mostly due to the rise in the foreign reserves during the year.

The bank added that during the last three months of 1986 the country's foreign liabilities had increased by \$121m., but this rise again reflected almost entirely the greater value in dollar terms of the debts denominated in European currencies.

Over the next eight months Israel will have to pay some \$3.3b. to its foreign creditors. Some \$1.9b. will be paid on maturing principal and the rest will represent interest payments, 70 per cent of which will be paid by the government.

CURRENCY MARKETS

Dollar oversold but vulnerable

The U.S. dollar closed weaker against most currencies over the week and collapsed against the yen.

Heavy selling sent the U.S. currency on Friday to a post-war low, below 142 yen, and required coordinated intervention by central banks. The dollar's decline started on Thursday after U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker said the currency's fall had so far been orderly. The markets took this as an indication that the U.S. was not opposed to a further dollar decline.

On Friday morning the Japanese finance minister said current exchange rates were within the limits implied in the Paris accord.

The drop in the value of the dollar

sent U.S. interest rates higher and the long bonds dropped spectacularly on Thursday night. Short-term dollar interest rates moved up.

Nervousness, wide trading ranges and increased volatility are the orders for the coming week. The dollar is oversold, and therefore some near-term correction is inevitable, particularly against the yen. However, it seems that longer-term view favours the downside for the dollar. Analysts talk about the level of 135 for the yen, 1.65 for the Deutschmark, 1.40 for the Swiss franc and 1.70-1.75 for the pound sterling.

The column appears courtesy of Boaz Barak Advisory Service.



Gabai resigns from Securities Authority post

Less than a week after he formally took over the post, Meir Gabai is giving up his job as chairman of the Securities Authority, the Treasury announced yesterday. It gave no reason for the sudden action.

The Treasury said Finance Minister Moshe Nissim planned to propose that Gabai be named civil service commissioner at the next cabinet meeting. It said it would ask the cabinet to appoint Arye Mientkavich, currently Finance Ministry legal adviser, to Gabai's post, and Tamar Hacker, formerly senior deputy legal adviser, to replace Mientkavich.

Gabai, formerly director-general of the Justice Ministry, replaced Eliezer Shiloni as the Securities Authority at the beginning of the month.

Texaco files for bankruptcy

NEW YORK (AP). - Texaco Inc., embroiled in a multi-billion dollar battle with Pennzoil Co., has filed for protection under Federal Bankruptcy Law, its president and chief executive officer said yesterday.

The nation's third-largest oil company took the action in the face of a requirement that it post \$11 billion in security to continue its legal fight with Pennzoil.

"Pennzoil has placed its own greed above any consideration of fundamental fairness or the public welfare," president James Kinnear told a news conference.

The filing, under Chapter 11 of Federal Bankruptcy Law, will not affect the network of subsidiaries that constitute the bulk of Texaco's operations, he said.

In 1984, a jury in Houston, Texas, ordered Texaco to pay \$10.5b. to Pennzoil for unlawfully interfering in a planned merger between Pennzoil and Getty Oil Co. The Texas Court of Appeals reduced that to \$8.5b. in February, but, with interest, Texaco then owed about \$11b.

In January, a court in New York agreed that the bond - by then \$12b. - could bankrupt the company and prevent it from appealing the original decision. That court reduced the bond to \$1b.

Last week the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the judge in New York was wrong to have heard the case before it had been fully aired in Texas.

Guinness probe to turn to Israeli link

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. - Focus in the Guinness PLC share scandal is likely to shift this week to dealings between former chairman Ernest Saunders and Israeli-American entrepreneur Meshulam Riklis.

A High Court here heard on Friday that Saunders had ordered the shredding of his 1986 office diary and several other documents. This despite being told not to do so by government inspectors in the early stages of their inquiry into Guinness's bitter takeover battle last year for the Scottish drinks group Distillers Ltd.

According to evidence given in court last week, Saunders also ordered the shredding of all correspondence involving Riklis, whose U.S. alcoholic beverages company, Schenley Industries, obtained franchises to distribute Distillers products in the U.S. shortly after Guinness clinched the takeover. Riklis was reportedly a particularly heavy buyer of Guinness shares during the takeover battle, helping prop up the shares and make the Guinness bid more attractive to Distillers.

Thus far, the Guinness investigation has been conducted by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), and it is the new Guinness management itself, in High Court actions to recover funds paid out by Saunders, that has been producing the new evidence in the affair.

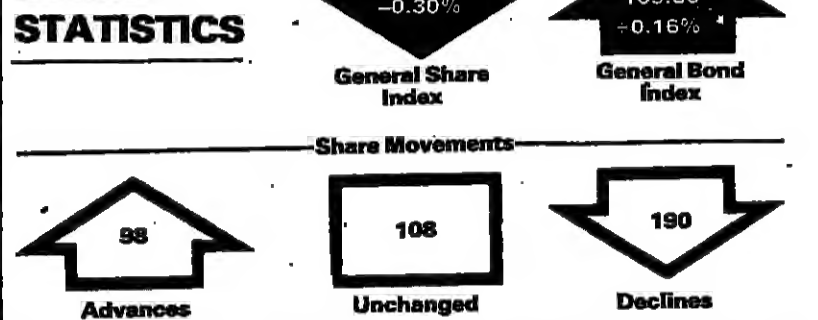
Now the pressure is said to be growing on the DTI to order the police fraud squad to join in the probe.

The new Guinness management is seeking, through the courts, to freeze all assets of Saunders and former U.S. Guinness director Thomas Ward. It is also attempting to press the two into disclosing the whereabouts of an \$8.2 million payment made during the takeover battle by Saunders to a Jersey firm connected to Ward. Essentially, it is claiming that Saunders and Ward still have all or some of this money and that it ought to be paid back to Guinness.

Saunders, in turn, is claiming that he is being made a scapegoat by Guinness, that the funds were paid out in good faith and that the shredded documents were not germane to the DTI probe.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS



Stock Indices	Value	% Change
General (incl. arrgmt.)	161.71	-1.00%
Non-arrgmt. Banks	165.30	+0.52%
Arrangement Banks	108.34	+0.40%
Mortgage Banks	141.97	-0.89%
Financial inst.	121.64	-0.08%
Insurance	125.18	+0.07%
Commerce & Services	160.20	-1.34%
Real Estate & Agric.	164.53	-1.48%
Industrials	162.36	-1.22%
Food & Tobacco	152.19	-0.27%
Tyres	158.12	-2.64%
Metals	159.55	+0.30%
Electronics	164.15	-0.83%
Chemicals	160.18	-1.66%
Industrial invest.	194.05	+0.00%

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	% Change
Commercial Banks			
(not part of "arrangement")			
Maritime	2100	1814	
General non-arr.	30800	318	-2.8
First Int'l	5885	4254	+1.9
FBI	7940	3143	-0.6
Commercial Banks			
(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	90870	1108	
Union 0.1	57700	135	-0.2
Discount	118050	173	
Mizrahi	37400	1382	-0.2
Hapoelim r	61850	589	+0.4
General A	158530	80	
Leumi 0.1	38710	4043	+1.1
Fin. Trade	52490	1	+0.8
Mortgage Banks			
Leumi Mort. r	10740	302	+2.1
Dev. Mort.	3541	980	-1.7
Mishkan r	3541	980	-1.7
Tel Aviv r	23091	179	-2.7
Merriv r	8474	478	+2.5
Financial Institutions			
Agric. C	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading		
Clal Leasing 0.1	28700	20	+1.1
Insurance			
Ararat 0.1 r	4600	538	-5.8
Hassneh r	445	36752	-3.1
Phoenix 0.1	774	4840	+2.9
Haniashmar	1920	198	-1.0
Menorah 1	2900	858	+4.5
Sahar r	8250	153	+1.6
Zion Hold. 1	10700	133	-8.5

Arrangement Bonds	NIS 4,088,400
Treasury Bills	NIS 12,141,000
	NIS 3,885,700
Share Movements	
Advances	91 (96)
of which 5%+	18 (11)
buyers only	0 (5)
Declines	188 (195)
of which 5%+	33 (35)
sellers only	0 (0)
Trading Halt	29 (28)

Bond Market Trends	
Index-linked:	
3% fully linked	Rises to 0.5%
4.25% fully linked	Mixed to 0.5%
80% fully linked	Falls to 1%
Double linked:	
Admon	Falls slightly
Rimon	Mixed to 1%
Gilboa	Mixed to 2%
FC denominated	Rises slightly
T-bills	
(annual yield)	25.15-33.50%

Arrangement Yields:	
IDB ord.	16.93%
Union 0.1	16.83%
Discount A	16.88%
Mizrahi A	16.91%
Hapoelim R.	16.78%
General A	16.58%
Leumi Stock	16.01%
Fin. Trade 1	16.32%

Trade & Services			
Meir Ezra	1149	14381	-4.1
Supersol 2	14700	1068	-3.0
Delek r	8635	3810	-0.4
Lightage	27300	102	-7.0
Cold Storage	1450	3361	-5.1
Dan Hotels	2474	594	-0.1
Yarden Hotel	2790	375	+3.3
Hilon 1	19430	1438	+0.4
Team 1	1020	2031	
Real Estate, Building and Agriculture			
Azriim	1586	2132	-0.8
Elion	545	13949	-2.3
Elion	545	13949	-2.3
Africa Inc. 0.1	64300	322	-2.3
Dankner	7970	581	
Prop. & Bldg.	4560	3581	-2.5
Seaside 0.1	5530	1250	-3.0
ILDC	113901	216	
Rassor r	5800	335	-3.3
Mahadim	7279	6321	
Hadarim	2165	1741	-3.5
Industrials			
Dubek b	6580	490	-0.2
Pri-Ze 1	no trading		
Sunfront	18200	269	-1.6
Elite	24540	3389	-1.0
Adgar	798	7051	-4.8
Argaman r	20250	355	
Delta G 1	5428	1062	-5.2
Maquette 1	5350	286	+5.6
Eagle 1	670	1988	-4.5
Polgat	6940	2175	-2.0
Schoellerhain	20000	534	
Rogovin	2750	958	
Urdan 0.1 r	14597	829	+10.0
Is. Can Co. 1	5270	1094	-1.9
Zion Cables	3100	1251	-8.8
Packer Steel	20500	238	-5.5
Elbit	641000	35	-1.7
Oil Exploration			
Paz Oil Expl.	no trading		
J.O.E.L.	784	36070	+10.0

Abbreviations: s.o. sellers only b.o. buyers only b bearer r registered

Israel Money Markets

Bank	Deposit	7 days	14 days	30 days
Leumi (Apr. 8)	500-999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,000-9,999	22.50	21.75	23.00
	10,000-49,999	24.00	24.00	25.75
	50,000+	24.50	23.25	25.00
Hapoelim (Mar. 27)	Up to 999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,000-9,999	21.00	21.00	21.50
	10,000-49,999	22.50	23.50	23.50
	50,000+	24.00	24.00	24.00
Discount (Apr. 5)	40-999	10.00	10.00	12.00
	1,000-10,000	21.00	21.00	22.50
	10,001-50,000	23.00	23.00	25.00
	50,001-99,999	23.00	23.00	25.00
Mizrahi	40-1,000	—	—	—
	1,001-2,500	—	—	—
	2,501-5,000	—	—	—
	5,001-10,000	—	—	—
First Int'l (April 8)	10,001-50,000	17.00	15.10	15.10
	1,000-4,999	22.00	21.50	21.40
	5,000-9,999	23.00	22.40	22.00
	10,000-49,999	24.00	23.00	22.50
	50,000+	25.00	24.00	23.00

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	5.75	5.75	6.125
Pound sterling (£100,000)	8.125	7.875	8.000
Deutschmark (DM 200,000)	2.275	2.275	2.000
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	2.500	2.625	2.750
Yen (3 million yen)	2.375	2.325	2.375

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI. Rates vary according to size of deposit.

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (April 10)

Currency basket	Buy	Sell	Rate
U.S. dollar	1.8890	1.8900	1.6798
Deutschmark	1.8811	1.8105	1.6011
Pound sterling	0.8768	0.8889	0.8200
French franc	2.5818	2.5137	2.6001
Japanese yen (100)	0.2533	0.2586	0.2600
Dutch florin	1.1154	1.0888	1.1211
Swiss franc	0.7775	0.7671	0.7618
Swedish krona	1.0572	1.0704	1.0848
Norwegian krone	0.2314	0.2345	0.2361
Danish krone	0.2321	0.2380	0.24
Australian dollar	0.2324	0.2333	0.2346
Belgian franc (100)	1.2216	1.2368	1.25
Austrian schilling	1.1378	1.1518	1.14
Italian lira (1000)	0.7880	0.81	0.81
Jordanian dinar	0.4218	0.4271	0.43
Egyptian pound	1.2474	1.2630	1.28
Israeli shekel	1.2298	1.2448	1.25
Spanish peseta (100)	—	—	—
Portuguese escudo (100)	—	—	—
Irish punt	1.8180	1.8408	1.8528
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3405	2.3688	1.12
Portuguese escudo (100)	1.2804	1.2858	1.28

Foreign Markets

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (April 10)

Precious Metals	Libor Rates
Gold London a.m. fix 432.30	1 month 9 1/8%
London p.m. fix 431.80	3 month 9 1/4%
Paris p.m. fix 430.30	6 month 9 1/4%
Zurich p.m. fix 431.25	1 year 9 1/4%
Spot 430.00	
Platinum London p.m. 577.50	

Foreign Currency Crossrates (London 15:30 GMT)

Forward rates				
Forward sterling	1.826070	1.826124	1.826215	1.826370
Deutschmark	1.805080	1.826123	1.826215	1.826370
Swiss franc	1.497287	1.497116	1.497235	1.497480
Dutch florin	0.203075	0.203075	0.203075	0.203075
French franc	0.010000	0.010000	0.010000	0.010000
Japanese yen	0.0093	0.0093	0.0093	0.0093
Italian lire	1.297.95/100	85.1000	1.700/100	370/100
Belgian franc	37.284/100	127	121	121
Spanish peseta	1.360/1000	167	167	167
US dollar	1.1500/100	85	84	84
ECU	1.8480/100	85	84	84
S. African rand	1.4580/100	85	84	84
Australian schilling	1.268/100	85	84	84
Swedish krona	0.3080/100	85	84	84
Norwegian krona	0.7000/100	85	84	84
Denish krone	0.1500/100	85	84	84
Spanish peseta	0.1500/100	85	84	84

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On Pessah eve

ON the eve of Pessah, the nation mourns the death of three victims of Arab attack. Two soldiers, killed in a Hizbullah ambush in southern Lebanon, and a mother of three, slain by a petrol bomb attack on a West Bank road, represent the toll that casts its shadow over tonight's celebration of freedom.

The soldiers were killed while safeguarding Israel's northern border. The mother, Ofra Moses, was killed, and her family severely injured, while driving innocently on a civilian road. But for the terrorists there is no difference. Soldiers and civilians are targets of their deadly aims.

The fire bomb attack, which occurred near the Arab village of Habla, culminates more than a week of violence on the West Bank, evidently linked to a hunger strike by Arabs detained for security reasons in Israeli prisons. Jewish settlers travelling the road have complained of a long string of incidents, like stone throwings, making the road unsafe.

After the news of the attack, they took the law into their own hands, and in rage burned fields and orchards adjacent to roads and vent their spleen as well against the Chief of General Staff, Rav Aluf Moshe Levy, who arrived at the scene to supervise restoration of order.

Yet, whatever the provocation such vigilantism cannot be condoned. It can only beget more violence, and undermine the coexistence with the local Arab population, which the settlers themselves persistently profess prevails despite terror attacks and despite their process of settlement.

But the settler response has not been limited to vigilantism. As in the past, they have seized on the bomb attack to denounce Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's aim to achieve a peace negotiation process with Jordan.

In this way they play straight into the hands of the PLO, which also seeks to block such a negotiation process. But they also deepen the divide within the Israeli body politic. For if the spokesmen of the settlers, representing one constituency, seize upon such attacks as proof of the need for more settlements, there is another constituency that views them as proof of the need for less. And what one group sees as evidence for more military measures, the other sees as evidence for more diplomatic initiatives.

The nation, united in mourning the dead, is not united in its political understanding of how to resolve the conflict that has led to so much suffering.

Like the citizenry it represents, so too is the government divided. But it has the responsibility to act. And it has no choice, but to pursue two paths. It must take all appropriate military measures to safeguard civilian life in the territories—as Defence Minister Rabin asserted yesterday. Yet it must also seek political solutions which hold out the promise of ending the tragic cycle of violence.

Contrary to the criticism of the settlers, both those courses of action must be followed without allowing one to obstruct the other. That is the historic Zionist legacy. Despite this week's tragedies, violence and counter-violence, it is a legacy that bears renewal, especially as the nation marks its flight to freedom.

RABIN

(Continued from Page One)

tional conference, and what he was saying about settlements in Judea and Samaria, had not only encouraged Arab terror but signalled to the PLO that now was the time to step up its attacks.

Peres: "To accuse Jews of being guilty of Arab terror is a shocking charge. Was there no terror before this? Do you speak in the terrorists' name? Do you know why a specific terror act was perpetrated?"

Shapiro: "Can I remind you that last week, when you addressed a National Religious Party audience, you declared that the settlements in Ariel and Emmanuel were superfluous?"

Peres: "I did not say that. I said that Kiryat Shmona was more important than Emmanuel, and Dimona was more important than Ariel. Those who charge other Jews with responsibility for Arab terror want to bring the government down."

During the discussion on the report by Rabin and by the acting IDF Deputy Chief of General Staff Aluf

Amiram Mitzna, calls for a strong hand against terror were issued by Industry Minister Ariel Sharon, Transport Minister Haim Corfu, and Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz.

Minister-without Portfolio Ezer Weizman and Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur spoke of the need to press forward with the peace process, and not just crack down on the terrorists.

In its official statement, the cabinet expressed condolences to the bereaved family and wished a speedy recovery to the injured.

The statement noted that terrorism, and attacks on transport in Judea and Samaria, had increased recently. All necessary measures would be taken to bring these attacks to a halt, and more far-reaching steps would be taken to strike at the terrorists. The security forces would guarantee the security of the Jewish population in particular, and of the residents of the areas in general, the statement said.

BRINK

(Continued from Page One)

proposal violated the Camp David agreements. The Likud ministers charged that Peres's initiative would bring about a Palestinian state and push Israel back to the "strangulation borders of 1967."

Katzav said afterwards that the Likud and the Alignment were in a stand-off, with each party abiding by its position "until there is a specific peace initiative to discuss."

The Alignment Knesset faction later issued a statement charging that the Likud always opposed every initiative, and suggesting that Likud Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i "stick to the squabbles in his little Liberal puddle," instead of taking on Peres.

Leading Likud MKs such as Sara Doron and Uzi Landau preferred to see a link between the latest terror wave and Peres's call for negotiations.

Likud ministers also issued a statement yesterday, which said that their party sought a genuine peace and that Peres's international conference

China is the prize

David Landau

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir has every right, by his lights, to depict an international peace conference as a catastrophe, and its Israeli advocates as crazy defeatists or worse.

From his perspective, any peace conference, whether binational, multinational or international — indeed any peace — would be catastrophic, because it would mean compromise.

Shamir has every right to believe that a no-peace situation — indeed war — is better than peace-with-compromise. And he is perfectly entitled to try and persuade public opinion to his view, just as Moshe Dayan for years successfully misled the Israeli public to believe that Sharm e-Sheikh without peace was preferable to peace without Sharm e-Sheikh. Similarly, Shamir has the right to believe that Dayan was wrong to change his mind on this matter.

But Shamir is demagogic — and Peres pussy-footed — in ignoring, in their public pronouncements, the strategic benefits to Israel inherent in an international peace conference. Shamir will admit no light to alleviate the apocalyptic blackness of his depiction. And Peres is so anxious to pretend that a conference would be merely a formal framework for bilateral negotiations that he prefers not to dwell on the subject at all.

That, however, is to fall into the Likud's trap — to put himself on the defensive in his advocacy of a process which the Likud labels as disastrous and for which Labour, therefore, must find excuses.

Peres has long recognized that his difficult but vital task is to educate the public to appreciate peace, instead of fearing it. But this should apply to the controversial conference scenario too. The conference —

if Israel sticks to its conditions — could bring major strategic gains. And domestic public opinion, confronting the conference option, should be encouraged to consider such gains against the loss of territory (which some would argue is also a strategic gain — but that is another subject).

ONE SUCH gain would be the normalization of relations with China. It would be an enormous strategic success in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict — because of its inevitable impact on the Arab world. With one stunning blow it would disabuse Arab leaders and their people of residual (and in many cases more than residual) illusions about Israel's "legitimacy" and permanence.

Emotive rhetoric about one of the world's most ancient civilizations extending historic recognition to another proud and ancient people would doubtless accompany the formal act. But the rhetoric would harbour profound reality — especially in the minds of Israel's adversaries. They would suddenly have to recognize the fact that one-quarter of humanity had proclaimed its acceptance of Jewish sovereignty in this land; that the champion of the Third World and awakening giant of the 21st century, after long hesitation and after weighing its own interests and the true balance of forces, had resolved to come to terms with Israel.

The effect on the Arabs would be a monumental strategic gain for Israel, much more significant than the immediate and tangible political benefits that would accrue from Beijing-Jerusalem normalization.

Did Shimon Peres have all this in mind when, as though out of the blue, he broached the topic of China with Romania's President Nicolae

READERS' LETTERS

DIRECT FLIGHTS FOR SOVIET JEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — On at least two occasions (February 10 and April 4), your correspondent, Aryeh Rubinstein, has suggested that I do not favour direct flights of Soviet Jews from eastern Europe to Israel. This is certainly not my attitude. In fact, I have been pressing for such flights for the past 10 years, long before others came to adopt this same view.

Neither do I believe that anyone can really be opposed to direct flights for those Jews leaving the Soviet Union with visas good for travel to Israel only. Such opposition is like being against motherhood and, as the Americans say, apple pie. Moreover, in this day and age of air travel, why should anyone choose anything less than direct flights unless their intentions are dishonourable?

What I have said, and as frequently as I can, is that direct flights are no easy solution to the absorption process of Soviet Jews, particularly when such flights include those whose intentions to go elsewhere, other than Israel, was decided even before they applied to the Soviet authorities for visas to Israel.

Those who believe that direct flights are an effortless solution for all that ails Soviet immigration are only misleading themselves. That is why the Department for Immigration and Absorption, which I head takes a very serious view of the direct flights in the knowledge that it is the central challenge to the success of our absorption policies.

Jerusalem. CHAIM AHARON

FAMILY MEDIATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — While I may have made several references to Sylvia Mandelbaum, the founder of Mitzva, in my interview with Carol Ungar in your Good Taste supplement of March 26, I would like it to be understood that my connection is with *Shohrei Hapshara*, the national network founded by that same grand lady.

Shohrei Hapshara, in a short period of time, has been most successful in its work in the divorce and mediation field and I am proud to be one of its members.

BINYAMIN MARKOWITZ
President,
Shohrei Hapshara

Jerusalem.

THE POLLARDS' PUNISHMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Reports that State Department officials "view the Pollards' financial distress as part of (their) punishment...and would not look favourably at any effort to lighten the burden."

Were not the harsh sentences imposed upon the Pollards enough? Is the punishment now to be extended to their families who are paying their legal expenses, and to their attorneys, who have yet to be fully paid?

Let us now hear from the American Jewish leadership on the cruel vindictiveness of U.S. officialdom.

MILTON J. KRAMER
Jerusalem.

The Pessah Dry Bones



Ceausescu more than three years ago?

At that time the Romanian leader's demand for an international conference, and Peres's insistence on diplomatic ties with all would-be participants, seemed distant and almost hypothetical.

But there has been much incremental movement since then and today in Beijing there is a palpable sense of expectation as the pace of contacts quickens and their profile is allowed to rise. Seasoned observers there speak in terms of months, rather than years, when predicting an initial exchange of diplomats.

The decision by China late last month to announce publicly a meeting between two Chinese and Israeli officials not only resounded in world chancelleries, but impacted powerfully too in official circles and among the intelligentsia inside China — as was obviously intended.

In Hongkong, meanwhile, the Israeli consul-general, Reuven Merhav, a longtime senior government strategist and analyst, is working with indefatigable patience and commitment to build up the still-tenuous and fragile relationship.

Ties of trade, culture, agriculture, the satisfaction of curiosity and the subtle correction of misapprehensions — all these, he believes with a passion, will cumulatively contribute towards moving a traditionally slow and cautious policymaking mechanism forward.

In China's ponderous, painstaking consideration of its relations with Israel there is no "linkage" to American public or Congressional opinion. No "Most Favoured Nation" conditionality; no Jackson Amendment; no association in the media between the superpowers' relationship and their separate connections with Jews and Israel.

Arguably, such an association might have been woven into the dramatically evolving Washington-Beijing relationship during the Seventies.

Either way, it is too late now. And that, ironically, makes the hoped-for accommodation with China an even more desirable prize for Israel. There will be no ulterior motives with which Israel's adversaries could impugn it or belittle its significance. It would be, if it comes about, a product of realpolitik on the part of Beijing. For Israel, as they contemplate with trepidation the cataclysmic implications of an international conference, the prospect of normalization with China should be both reassuring and exciting.

The writer, associate managing editor of The Jerusalem Post, has just returned from the Far East.

BATTERED WOMEN: OUTRAGED REACTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The offensive, flippant and somewhat ludicrous article by Macabee Dean about the problems of Israel's battered women (March 18) clearly underlines the real problems facing all women in Israel today — ignorance and the lack of willingness to be educated. What difference does it make if there are 100,000 or 10,000 battered women in Israel today? The fact remains that there are only four small shelters available for battered women around the country and clearly this is not sufficient.

The entire tone of Macabee Dean's article is insulting and degrading. He begins with a comparison of "round figures" — both feminine and statistical, — goes on to sneer at "the sanctity of motherhood" and then suggests that what constitutes a battered woman may simply be a "mild slap on the cheek." One of the principal, underlying reasons that women in Israel are underprotected by law and underpaid in the work force is illustrated here — women in Israel simply are not taken seriously.

The oh-so-helpful suggestions that Macabee Dean brings forth similarly are ridiculous. How many young to middle-aged women have retained anything from their combat training or ever used it effectively in real life? And, since when, in the Western world, should women have to call on their brothers and fathers to protect them from their husbands? As far as the great, free, secret vote is concerned, until Israel's electoral system is reformed, women can't vote for real representation — all anyone has here is the party machine *protektzia* system.

TRICIA COLLINS-LEVI
Jerusalem.

Sir, — Macabee Dean insists on distinguishing between severe battering "with broken ribs and bruised faces," and the occasional "slap on the cheek," comparing the latter to the same slap that a mother "bestows on her own brats when they are naughty." This flippant remark reflects a prevalent cultural attitude, that allocates to women the same qualities as to a child and gives a man the right to treat her as such. This is precisely the softened down version of bullying that women in a patriarchal society have been socialised to accept, always hoping that if they behave themselves, as good children should, the slaps will not become more frequent or more violent.

It is fairly easy to sympathise with the "vicious brutalisation of women." It demands more sensitivity and awareness to comprehend the insult and denigration of the little slap on the cheek. Violence of any man against any woman, no matter how minor, is not justified and should not be condoned.

RUTH ABRAHAM
Herzliya Pituh.

Sir, — As a former case-worker in one of the pioneering shelters for battered women in Cambridge, Massachusetts, before my aliyah, I was dismayed and shocked by Macabee Dean's article.

Has he ever seen the various shades of the rainbow on a woman's body from battering? Does he know what it is like to leave every personal possession, flee with only the clothes on your back, move across country or to another country and live in hiding? Does he know what it is to be nine months pregnant and have a spouse trample on your belly, and be shot at with a sawn-off shotgun?

Let us not forget about the children who have fled with her in the middle of the night; they cannot attend school until they are relocated in a "new" life. They cannot sleep, interact without problems, let alone relate to an adult male normally.

ELLEN LISAK BASSEL
Jerusalem.

DINING OUT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — In the same week that saw the end of a hospital strike, when the workers received an extra NIS 200 per month, Haim Shapiro reported on a visit to a restaurant in which he paid NIS 155 for a meal for two people (with wine, of course).

I would have thought that both time and space would have been spent better by showing how a family is supposed to manage on wages of NIS 500 per month and meet its

monthly food bill (unfortunately without wine).

S. M. CANNING
Kfar Macabi.

Haim Shapiro comments: I agree the meal was overpriced, a fact which I consider all the more reason to review it.

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